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Editorial

In issuing the second volume of *Arthuriana,* the Editors have thought it advisable to widen the scope of this review by including other papers than those read before the Arthurian Society, and other matter than strictly Arthurian. Some 'external' contributions have, therefore, been received, and the Editors hope that this practice may be continued. At the same time, it has been found useful to combine the study of Arthurian problems proper with works of a more general interest, such as the essays on mediaeval textual criticism published here. Arthurian research remains the chief object of the Society as well as of its review, but as long as they both aim primarily at the cultivation of sound methods of literary and philological study, the widening of the range of subjects will, it is hoped, be regarded as a welcome alteration.

E. V.
F. M. W.

The Hebrides in the French Arthurian Romances[1]

THE poet Guillaume le Clerc who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, composed the romance of Fergus, has introduced into his poem two personages of Scottish history who at that epoch had been dead for hardly half a century, just as Chrétien de Troyes mentioned in his *Erec* (1709) Yvain de Cavaliot, i.e., Owain [of] Cyfeiliog, Giraldus's Oeneus de Keveiliauc, a Welsh prince who was the poet's contemporary,[2] just as Guiot de Provins immortalized in his Perceval (the source of Wolfram's Parzival) as Lehelin, usurper of Perceval's countries Waleis and Norgals, that famous Welsh prince Llywelyn the Great, who at the time when the poet was writing

[1] List of works quoted in abbreviations:

(*a*) Guillaume le Clerc, *Fergus*, ed. Ernst Martin, Halle, 1872 (the first edition, by F. Michel, Edimbourg, 1841, was not accessible to me).

(*b*) *Ferguut*, ed. Verwijs and Verdam, Groningen, 1882 (I have not seen the second edition, by Overdiep, Leiden, 1925, nor the old edition by Visscher, Utrecht, 1836).

(*c*) Skene, W. F., *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Edinburgh, 1867.

(*d*) Idem, *Celtic Scotland*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1886-90.

(*e*) Anderson, A. O., *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1922.

(*f*) *Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum*, ed. by P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1860.

(*g*) Schlauch, M., 'The Historical Background of Fergus and Galiene' (P.M.L.A., 14, 1929).

(*h*) G. Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, Glasgow, 1910.

(*i*) Jordon, Leo, 'Zum altfranz. Fergusroman' (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. 43, 1923).

[2] *Cf.* J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1912, pp. 487, 533-4, 563; *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Dimock, vol. vi, London, 1868, p. 144 (*Descriptio Kambriae*, lib. II, c. 21); my article 'Eigennamen in den Lais der Marie de France', in Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt. 49, 1927, pp. 386, 478.

his poem had begun his career as conquerer of North Wales,[3] and just as even a German poet, Wirnt von Gravenberc, replaced the Orguilleus de la Lande of the French source of his Wigalois by 'grave Hoijir von Mannesvelt' (*velt=lande*), a famous German nobleman who died in 1115.

The editor of *Fergus*, E. Martin, with the help of A. S. Murray of the British Museum, has been able to clear up most of the historical and geographical indications of this romance. Quite recently Miss Margaret Schlauch has produced more details about the historical personages in question, without, however, being able to add much to the explanation of the names of the romance.

The two historical personages introduced by Guillaume into Arthurian rôles were *Fergus, princeps Galwaiae* (Galloway), who died in 1161,[4] and *Sumerledus, regulus Herergaidel* (Argyle), who was slain in battle at Renfrew in 1164.[5] They were, then, contemporaries and rulers of almost neighbouring districts along the western coast of Scotland. Both successfully attempted to free these districts from the Norwegian ruler of the Western Isles,[6] part of which Sumerled won after a naval fight in 1156.[7] Both were also rebels against King Malcolm of Scotland. There was even a tie of relationship between them.[8] If the French poet knew something of these facts, it is no wonder that he, not writing history, but a romance, made the union between Sumerled and Fergus still closer, represented them as father and son. Martin's suggestion that *Alanus, dominus Galwediae*[9] (d. 1233), who was Fergus's great-grandson and a baron of the English king

[3] *Cf.* Lloyd, *loc. cit.*, p. 588. There did not exist an earlier Prince of Wales of this name.

[4] *Cf.* Anderson, ii. 245 f.; Skene, C.S. i. 472; Martin, xxiii; Schlauch, 368 f.

[5] *Cf.* Skene, C.S.i. 469-473; Schlauch, 365 f.

[6] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. iii. 32 f.

[7] *Cf.* Skene, C.S.i. 470 f., iii. 34-36; Schlauch, 365; Munch, 10.

[8] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. iii. 34; Schlauch, 365, 367.

[9] *Cf.* Munch, 18.

Henry III, was the poet's patron,[10] would explain why Fergus, not Sumerled, obtained the protagonist's rôle. *Somellet,*[11] the protagonist's father, was not treated with sympathy by the poet; for he appears as a *vilain* (9/16), who employed his son Fergus as *bouvier* (10/26 ff.).

All the readers of our romance must have noticed how accurate the geographical indications referring to Scotland are, so that, for instance, the various journeys of the characters can be traced on the map.[12] Guillaume, though a Continental (a Walloon according to Professor Jordan), must have known Scotland rather well. Nevertheless, the accuracy is only a relative one. It is great for a French writer of fiction; but it is not that of a serious writer of facts.[13]

The *riche vilain* Somellet, we are told, lived in a castle in *Ingeval.* He is the owner of the castle and of the country called Ingeval. Miss Schlauch was very rash in concluding from the indication that it was *Asés près de la mer d'Irlande* (9/17): 'Soumilloit is located by the author in Argyle' (370). Argyle is not the only country bordering on the Irish Sea, and she does not tell how Argyle came to be called Ingeval. Nay, she even contradicts herself in pretending (371) that the poet

[10] *Cf.* Martin, xxiii. f.

[11] This seems to be the form that was in the archetype of the French poem. The MSS. are A and P. A has *Soumilloit* (: *pooit*) 9/37, *Soumeillet* (: *varlet*) 10/27; 15/16; *Soumillet* (: *entremet*) 73/25; P reads: *Soumelet* 10/27; (no variant reading given for 9/37); 15/16; 73/25 (Martin is rather unreliable; for on p. XII he gives *Somillet* 10/27, 15/16, 73/24). The Dutch translation has *Somilet* (v. 289). Probably *-oit* was pronounced *-et* (based on Norman French *-eit, -ait*) or *-uet* (*cf.* Jordan, 156); *Kois* (=*Kes*) in Fergus 37/8, etc. or *Gawenoit,* diminutive of *Gawain,* in the Suite Merlin B.N. 337). **Somellet* stands for *Somerlet,* the French equivalent of the Norse *Sumarlidi.* As an appellative, this means 'summer-wanderer,' viking (*cf. Munch* 42) (*cf.* also *classis Somarlidiorum* in Skene, Chron. 10); but it was also used as a proper name, *e.g.* in the Icelandic Landnamabok, V, 3. The modern forms of Sumerled are Smollett in Scotland (Martin, xxiii) and Sorley in Ireland (*cf.* Henderson, p. 52).

[12] *Cf.* Martin, XIX ff., Schlauch, 363, and my 'Huon de Bordeaux and Fergus' in *Modern Language Review,* XX (1925), 160.

[13] The worst geographical mistake is at the beginning: Arthur's residence Karadigan (South Wales) appears to be quite near to Carlisle and to Scotland; but, no doubt, Guillaume had borrowed Karadigan from Chrétien's *Erec* and did not know where it was situated.

said of the inhabitants of Galloway, *Que ja n'enterront en mostier,* etc. (6/19), though he is speaking of Ingeval. Galloway, too, is bordering on the Irish Sea; and, when the poet tells us of a hunting party that it rode from *Glascou* (Glasgow) across *Aroie* (Ayrshire) into Ingeval and then to *Cardoel* (Carlisle) (6/7 ff., 9/13 ff.), it seems as if he had meant Galloway. So Martin simply declared: 'Ingeval = Galloway.' But he had good reason to add: 'Aber woher der Name Ingeval?' Indeed, this name resembles Galloway still less than it does Argyle.

If Argyle recommends itself as being a possession of the historical Sumerled, Galloway was the dominion of the historical Fergus, which, after Somellet having been made Fergus's father, naturally may have become Somellet's country as well. Now, as neither of these names will explain us Ingeval, we must take a third country into consideration. The historical Sumerled was in the last eight years of his life also lord of part of the Western Isles. These islands which by Ptolemy were termed *Ebudae,*[14] by Solinus *Hebudes*[15] (whence by a silly misreading the modern name 'Hebrides' arose),[16] and which the Norwegians who came from the still more northern groups of islands, the Shetlands and the Orkneys, named *Sudreyjar* (i.e. South Isles),[17] were known to the Irish of Ireland and Scotland by the name of *Innsi-Gall* or *Innse-Gall,*[18] which means 'Islands of the Strangers, of the Vikings.'[19] In Latin texts of Ireland this name, if not retained unchanged, was rendered by *Insulae Gallorum.*[20] In Scotland, *Innsi-* is often

[14] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. i, 68 f.

[15] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. i, 40.

[16] *Cf.* Munch, xxxiii.

[17] *Cf.* Munch, xxxii. From this name Schofield derived *Sudene,* the name of Horn's home. 'The Story of Horn and Rimenhild' in P.M.L.A., xxviii).

[18] *E.g.* in the Annals of Ulster, s.a. 1164 (Skene, Chron. 372).

[19] In the Viking period *Gall* always meant Northman; *cf. Gofraidh ri* (*tighearna*) *Gall* (Skene, C.S. iii, 31; 28 f., 292; I, 345, 376).

[20] *Cf. Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1910; I, p. cxxvi, n. 7.

replaced by *Inchi-, Inche-, Enche-*.[21] Here the name was used as late as 1684 as *Inseabh-Gall*.[22] Henderson, himself a Scotchman, asserted: 'The designation Innse Gall for the Hebrides has never died entirely out of popular memory' (p. 1).

For centuries the Hebrides were occupied by the Northmen. Innse-Gall was a kingdom under Norwegian rule long before Sumerled's time. It was called *rige Insegall*.[23] Frequently *-Gall* was omitted: the Innsi-Gall became the *Innsi*, the 'Isles' *par excellence*.[24] Sumerled himself bore the title of *ri Indsi-Gall*.[25] So did after him his second son, Reginald (Ranald), under whom the islands were again independent of Argyle.[26] In later times the rulers of the Hebrides had the title 'Lords of the Isles'.[27]

In my above reference to our romance I followed Martin's critical text in which the name of Somellet's country is always written *Ingeval*. The MSS. readings for this name are: A has 6/16 *en Indegaus* (: *par vals*), 9/14 *Indegal*, 11/24 *Ingegal*, 31/4 *Ingegal*, 146/8 *Ingegal;* P has in all these passages *Ingeval* (in 6/16: *aval*). The Dutch translation reads *Indegale* (v. 177, corresponding to 6/16; not mentioned again). We see that Martin has adopted the reading of P, though he

[21] *Cf.* a description of Scotland, dated 1165: *usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegall* (Skene, Chron. 137); another text of this century: *Enchegalliam* and *Enchegal* (*ibid.* 153 f.), a text dated 1317: *Inscegal* (*ibid.* 287) (other instances in Skene, Chron., Index). See also the modern names of islands in Scotland: Inchkeith, Inchcape, Inchcolm ('Saint Colme's inch' in *Macbeth*, i, 2).

[22] See a quotation in Y. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, new ed., IV, 72.

[23] e.g. in the Annals of Inisfallen, s.a. 1111 (Skene, Chron. 170).

[24] In the Annals of the Four Masters Gofraidh (11th cent.) is called *tighearna Gall Athacliath agus na n-innsidh* (Skene, C.S. iii, 31) =lord of the Vikings of Dublin and the Isles. In the Annals of Ulster an earlier Raghnall mac Gofraigh is termed *ri na n-insi* (King of the Isles) (s.a. 1005: Skene, Chron. 366). In the *Chronica Manniae et Insularum* the *Insulae* are the Hebrides (Man and the Orkneys are excluded): *regnum Insularum, e.g.* Munch, p. 18. The chronicler Ailred (De Bello apud Standardum) speaks *de Insulanis et Orcadensibus* (Skene, C.S. i, 467), meaning the inhabitants of the Hebrides and the Orkneys.

[25] *Cf.* Tigernach's Continuator, s.a. 1164 (Rev. Celt. xvvii, 195; Anderson, ii, 254).

[26] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. iii, 35.

[27] *Cf.* Skene, C.S. iii, 292-300.

had ' den grundsatz, den text nach der ältern und im allgemeinen bessern hs. [i.e. A] herzustellen und die andere nur in den fällen zu berücksichtigen, wo A offenbar schlechter ist ' and though there is no apparent reason why A should be thought to be ' offenbar schlechter ' in this case. The ' older and generally better ' MS. A has two forms: *Indegal* (of which *Indegaus* is evidently a mere variant) and *Ingegal*. The former is borne out by two instances, the latter by three. The Dutch version cannot be said to support the former, since it has simply suppressed all the passages where A has *Ingegal*. On the other hand the first g of *Ingegal* is proved to go back to the archtype, because it also occurs in the reading of MS. P. We see then that the form required for the archtype by an unprejudiced and mechanical reconstruction is *Ingegal*.[28]

Now this is the very reading that comes nearest to the Irish name Insegal and its Scottish variant Inchegal, which in Old French could also be written Incegal. If we consider that of seven letters of the Gaelic name six letters occur again in the French name in the same order and that the owner of Ingegal in the French romance, Somellet, is identical in name with the historical ruler of Insegal, Sumerled, we may be practically sure that Ingegal must be a corrupted form of Insegal or Inc(h)egal.[29] In this case it was not dissimilation, but assimilation that originated the change.[30] This change need not go back to the original.

[28] It is possible that the forms *Indegal* and *Ingeval* owe their origin to dissimilation, the latter also to a desire to have ' rich ' rhymes in **6/16, 9/14, 31/4,** with ***aval, val, cheval.***

[29] As to the i *cf.* Westphal, Engl. Ortsnamen im Altfrz. (Diss, Strassburg, 1891), p. 13: ' Das engl. i ist im Franz. in allen Stellungen erhalten geblieben.' Of course this rule must also hold good for Celtic i.

[30] Similar assimilations in O.F. *cerchier* > *chercher;* M.H.G. *seneschalt* > *scheneschant* (e.g. in Wolfram's Parzival); *Guenievre* > *Guengievre* in Yder **5168**; *chevalier au dragon* > *cavaliero Agragone* in Tavola Ritonda (cf. Löseth Tristan, p. 488); *Tintagol-*> *Dindagol* (the first d by lenition) and *Tintagol* in Welsh translations of Geoffrey's Historia (cf. San Marte, 365); *Aguisens* (from *Aguiseus,* N.S. to *Aguisel*) > *Aguiguens* in the Suite Merlin B.N. **337** (cf. Freymond's summary § 3). I may add that in certain dialects there was an interchange of ch and g, thus in the dialect represented by the Brussels MS. of Perlesvaus (ed Potvin: *estranche* **176**, *venchier* **180**, *doumache* **181**, *vencheroit* **193**, *sauvache* **205**, etc.; but *doumagier* **181**, *vengié* **187**, *mesage* **187** etc.).

Ingegal is in Fergus certainly not described as a group of islands, but as part of the mainland, as the district between Ayrshire and Carlisle, i.e. as Galloway. Some of the features of Ingegal and its inhabitants mentioned in the poem seem to refer to Galloway rather than to the Isles, thus the ploughing and harrowing (11/26), the horse-breeding (16/25 ff.), the marshes (16/37), whilst others might refer to either. Our poet then made his Somellet lord of the country of the historical Fergus, but gave it the name of one of the dominions of the historical Sumerled. We cannot see whether he had no interest in bringing his indications into harmony with reality or knew no better.

The Viking kingdom of the Insegal was well known to French authors of Arthurian romances, though probably not all of them had a clear idea where it was situated. We have seen that in historical works the *Innsi,* the *Insulae,* the *Regnum Insularum* pure and simple are always the Hebrides. We may be practically sure that likewise in French Arthurian romances the expressions *les Illes* and *li roiaumes des Illes* originally applied only to them.

Geoffrey of Monmouth who, by the way, was the first to introduce Viking elements into the Arthurian matter,[31] tells us (x, 3) of Arthur's fight against *Rithonem gigantem in Aravio* (*Arario*?) *monte* (=Snowdon),[32] a legend which seems to be of Welsh origin.[33] Indeed we meet with Ritho again as *li rois Ris de Gales* in an interpolation of Wauchier's Grail (13, 25). In the romantic 'Suite Merlin'[34] *li rois Rions* has become *li sires de Norgales.*[35] In 'Meriaduec' *Ris* is termed *roi d'Outre-Ombre,*[36] and is the lover of *la roïne d'Yselande*

[31] He confused the raids of the Vikings with those of the Picts, Scots and Saxons, and made King Arthur and his predecessors also fight against *Daci* (Danes) and *Norwegenses.*

[32] Concerning Ritho and the Mons Aravius I may refer to a review of mine in Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr. 44, pp. 48-73.

[33] *Cf.* San Marte, Gottfried v. M., p. 402 ff.

[34] Ed. Paris and Ulrich, I, 202.

[35] *Norgales* is usually not North Wales, but the territory of the North-Britons, Strathclyde.

[36] The territory beyond the Humber, Northumberland, was in the 9th and 10th cent. in the hands of a Danish king.

(413, 2833), the sister of the *dame* (*i.e.*, queen; *cf.* 3069, 3399, etc.) *des Illes* (2834, 2967, 4991). Thus Ris may have been conceived by the author as a Viking. There is not a long way from a giant to a Viking. In Ireland too the Vikings were confused with the Fomore, the giants of Irish mythology, as Alex. Bugge has shown. In Chrétien's Grail *Rion* himself is *li rois des Isles* (829 f.). In the Vulgate 'Suite Merlin' he is not only called *rois des Illes* (ed. Sommer, 412), but also *de Danemarche* and *d'Yslande* (Wheatley, 327).

In Chrétien's Grail Blancheflor's castle is besieged and her country laid waste by *Clamadeu des Illes* (1981; in Wolfram's Parzival 220/6 *Clamide von Iserterre=de la Terre des Isles*), who was no doubt a reigning prince, since he had a seneschal. In the Prose Lancelot (I, 236) he has become one of Galehout's generals and is called *rois des Lointaines Illes,* whilst in the Vulgate 'Suite Merlin' (374) his seneschal Aguigneron is *un riche baron de la terre de Sorelois.*[37] In the Perlesvaus (109) *Clamadoz* is a son of the Red Knight killed by the youth Perceval and has the attribute *des Onbres* (=*de l'Onbre?*=of the Humber).

In the Prose Lancelot (I, 161) *Brandis des Illes* is *li sires de la Dolerouse Garde,* the famous enchanted castle conquered by Lancelot. The author of the 'Suite Merlin' B.N. 337 says (116) that it was situated on the Humber and was also called *Neuve Fertez.*[38] The Prose Lancelot itself located it near the *Gue la Roine* on the *Hombre* (I, 141 f.).[39] In 'Durmart' *Brandis* (6657 f., 7449, etc.) is count of *Galvoie* (=Galloway, another Viking territory).

In 'Durmart' there is also an anonymous *rois des Ysles,* a *chevaliers noveaz* (6687 ff., 7437,7935,8137). In Manessier's Grail a knight called *Salandres des Illes* (45010), together with

[37] About Galehout and his countries, *les Lointaines Illes* and *Sorelois*, *cf.* infra!

[38] Translation of 'New Castle,' which, however, is on the Tyne?

[39] Observe the repeated connection between the Isles and the territories on or beyond the Humber, both known as dominions of the Vikings: Ris-Rion is king *des Illes* and *d'Outre-Ombre;* Clamadeu-Clamadoz has the attributes *des Illes* and *des Onbres* (=*de l'Onbre?*); Brandis *des Illes* is owner of a castle on the *Hombre.*

his five sons, challenges Perceval, who conquers all of them. In the Prose Tristan a knight of *Leonois* (here = *Loënois*? = Lothian), named *Mores*, has the attribute *des Illes*, but not in all the MSS.[40] Is he identical with *Nores de Lis*, the father of *Bran de Lis*, in Wauchier's Grail (12180)?

We have seen that in ' Meriaduec ' a *roïne des Illes* is mentioned. In this romance we are also told that the capital of *le roiaume des Illes* (2798) was *la cités de Rades* (5304, 5320). At the *Castel del Port* (4213) there is *une yawe mout parfonde*, which *ot bien une archie de lé* (4917 ff.). It seems as if Gauwain had merely to cross this *yawe* to be *es Illes* near Rades (4200, 5315, 527 f.). So the kingdom of the Isles or at least one of the Isles, seems to be separated from the mainland only by an arm of the sea. This description would fit for the island of Bute (one of the Hebrides) with its capital Rothesay.[41] The queen of the Isles has a lover called *Brien* who

[40] *Cf.* Löseth, pp. 311, 321.

[41] Henderson (63, 201 ff.) says that the older spelling was Rothersay (in 1321) = Rother's isle, and derives the name from Norse, Rudri's *ey*. But the genitive of Norse Rudri was Rudra; thus the s would be unexplained; also the dropping of the r would be quite irregular. Therefore, the spelling Rothersay, especially if it was isolated, may be due to English popular etymology (ey, ay is so frequent in names of islands that its meaning was clear to everybody); in the genealogy of the Scottish dynasty of Dalriada (Argyle) there is a man called Rothir, Rothrir, Rether (*cf.* Skene, Chron. 134, 144, 315). Anyhow, popular etymology could also explain Rodesey as the ' ey ' of Rodes, and Rodes could be considered as the name of the capital (there exists a village called Rothes in another part of Scotland, on the River Spey). Henderson himself must admit that ' Rothesay once seemed so important as to have almost (sic !) passed off as a name for the island, judging by a reference in an old document (H. had the disagreeable habit of not naming the texts) to the " isle of Rothysay or Bothe. ' " I would also refer to a chronicle of the Scots composed 1482-1580 and written in English as spoken in Scotland. Here we read about the immigration of the Scots from Ireland into Scotland: 'Alsua ye (y always stands for th) first yat comme of mare Scotland in ye lesse yat now is ouris be ye grace of God was callyt Rathus Rothia, eftir quhomm is callit ye ile and ye castell of Rothissaye, quhilk now is callit Bute efter Saynte Brandan ' (Skene, Chron. 380). Skene calls, in his introduction, p. xi, the Scottish chief to whom Rothesay is said to owe its name Ethachius Rothay (referring to Fordun's History); in one of the genealogies (Chron. 144) his name is Eccach-rothai; in another (134), Ecdaig-buadaig. Though Rathus may be a corrupted form, still it may suggest to us how to explain the a of French *Rades*. The Scotch dialect has very often regularly a, where normal English has o, thus in the above document near our passage *e.g.* nanne, alswa, mare, sa lang, awin = English none, also,

hoped to become, and allowed himself to be called, *rois des Illes* (3890). As the author of Meriaduec was acquainted with the Perlesvaus (cf. vv. 260 f.), in which a knight called *Brian des Illes* plays an active part, as an enemy of King Arthur and Lancelot, it is very likely that he borrowed the name of the suitor of *la roine des Illes* (Brian) from the Perlesvaus, because Brian's attribute in this romance (*des Illes*) reminded him of that of the queen in his main source. The Perlesvaus, in its turn, may have borrowed Brian des Illes from earlier texts, from Chrétien's Erec (6730), in which *uns chevaliers, Br(u)ianz des Illes,* has made a costly present to king Arthur and his queen, or from Wauchier's Grail or his source Bleheri, who frequently mentions a knight *Brien des Illes* in lists of knights (29159, 29379, 29444, etc.).[42] *Br(u)ians des Illes* in ' Li Biaus Desconëuz ' (5530, 5677, etc.) is probably not borrowed from Erec, since he is a king (which is more original), whilst his namesake in Erec is only a knight. In the late romance Escanor a knight *Brianz de Illes* is very frequently mentioned. In the Prose Tristan or rather the Pseudo-Robert-Queste *Bruiant des Iles* is among the knights who seek the Grail (§ 395 a).

One of the strangest characters of Arthurian romance is *Galehout* (Prose Lancelot), *li sires des Estraignes Illes* (I, 50, 223). Evidently these ' Strange Islands,' also called *Loin-*

more, so, long, own. Therefore, in proper names a Scotchman might introduce a instead of o. Thus we find near our passage ' Ramannis ' for Romans. Besides *Rades* might be a corruption due to a French scribe; for the romance is preserved only in one MS. The relative importance of Rothesay is shown by the fact that one of the titles of the Prince of Wales is ' Duke of Rothesay.'

42 Miss Jessie L. Weston, in her article, ' Who was Brian des Illes? ' (Mod. Phil XXII), identified the knight Brian des Illes in Perlesvaus with a historical personage of the first half of the twelfth century, Brian de Insula, a son of the Breton count Alan Fergant, and derives from this alleged fact the early date of the Perlesvaus. But Brian was a frequent name both in Britanny and Ireland, and *des Illes* is not an exact equivalent of *de insula*. The Perlesvaus is not the earliest text in which Brian des Illes occurs.

Brien in Erec, 1996, 1998 (who has no attribute), *Briain de Rochiers* in Dumart (11928, 12279), *Brian* (*t*) in Geoffrey and Wace are no doubt different from one another and from Brian des Illes.

teines Isles,[43] are none other but the 'Islands of the Strangers,' the Insi Gall.[44] While these islands are Galehout's *maistre terre* (I, 269), his usual residence was in the kingdom of *Sorelois*[45] which was on the mainland and was a conquered territory (i. 269). He was the son of a giantess (ii, 50), and, according to the Prose Tristan (§ 40 f.), one of those islands, inhabited by his parents, was called *Isle des Geanz.* We have seen that Vikings were often considered as giants. Galehout, probably at first a character similar to the giant Ritho, after having conquered thirty kingdoms, invaded Arthur's territory, demanding the surrender of his land and wife, and gave him battle near a river, in certain MSS. the Humber;[46] but this giant is one of the most idealized figures of Arthurian romance, adorned with all the chivalric virtues, particularly with courtesy.[47]

In the romantic 'Suite Merlin' (ii, 159) we are told that king Arthur's country was invaded by five kings: *li rois de Danemarche et chis d'Irlande qui estoient frere et li rois del Val et li rois de Sorelois et li rois de l'Isle Lontaigne.* This is merely an imperfect reminiscence of the Galehout passages of the Lancelot. *Li rois del Val* is probably *li rois de(l) Va(l)doan,* one of Galehout's generals (Lancelot, I, 236, 341). In the 'Suite Merlin' B.N. 337 (9, 10, 27, 145) we find him again as

[43] *E.g.* in Lancelot, II, 155, n.; *Mort Artu,* ed. Bruce, 112; *Tristan,* ed. Löseth, §40.

[44] *Cf.* my 'Beiträge zur Erklärung d. arthur. Geogr., ii. Gorre' (Zeitschr f. i, franz. Spr. 28), p. 19.

[45] About Sorelois, *cf.,* my article just named, p. 16-19.

[46] According to P. Paris, Les Romans de la Table Ronde, iii, 219 (not in Sommer, i, 211). About the connection of the Isles and the Humber, *cf.,* supra note 39.

[47] French Arthurian literature was entirely exempt from all racial and religious hatred. Some authors seem to have been conscious of Galehout's Teutonic extraction; *cf.* a note in the 'Suite Merlin,' B.N. 337 (p. 145): *il n'estoit mie outrageus beverres . . . .; ne il n'avoit la costume de cels de sa terre ne des isles environ* [*qui*] *chascune nuit quant il estoient saolé bevoient a guersoi, ensi con lor ancestre firent. Cf.* in Fergus, 109/11: *Tost beveriés a grant guersoi.* This expression was not understood by Professor Jordan, p. 17; it is an inaccurate and imitative rendering of Anglo-Saxon *wes hel* (*cf. Wace's* Brut, 7115 ff., *wessail* in the Lai del Cor 546, Modern English *wassail*).

le roi Avaudoan des Illes.[48] Just as the *Isles Lontaignes* were put into the singular in the romantic ' Suite Merlin,' the same was done with their synonym, the *Isles Estranges,* in a passage of the Prose Lancelot (iii, 244): *un castel* (sic) *que on apele l'Ille Estrange,* near the *marche d'Escoche* (iii, 231), belongs to king Vagor. In an episode of a special redaction of ' Palamedes ' there occurs a king Vagor *de la Cité Vermeille,*[49] whilst in an episode of the Prose Tristan (§§ 365f., 369ff.) *Armant* is the name of the *roi de la Cité Vermeille, située sur l'Isle Delitable.* The name Armant is also found in the Palamedes episode, in which there is moreover a king *Landunas de la Cité Vermeille.*[50] The Tristan episode is interesting, being a version of the well known story of the mysterious ship[51] discussed by Miss Weston in Romania 47, pp. 349 ff., who., however, has overlooked this version. In the Wauchier version of this story the king corresponding to the *roi de la Cité Vermeille* is *Brangemuer.* He was the son of Guingamuer (the hero of a well known lay) and the fairy queen Brangepart.[52] *Rois fu des illes de la mer. En une des illes estoit U nus mortiez hom n'abitoit* (21873 ff.). Unawares we have come from the Hebrides into the domain of mythology. Already Galehout and his territories (the Strange Islands with their giants and Sorelois with its two dangerous passages corresponding to those of Gorre) have got some mythical attributes; the king of the Red City on the *Isle Delitable* and Brangemuer are altogether Otherworld monarchs. Now in Celtic myths there was no doubt many an island that was a kingdom, but there was no mythical kingdom of the Isles; such a one existed only in reality; but we can easily understand that in French romances it might be confused with the mythical islands that were kingdoms.

[48] For further particulars about this king see my article ' Bliocadran, the Father of Perceval ' in ' Medieval Studies in Memory of G. Schoepperle Loomis,' Paris, 1927, pp. 11 ff.

[49] *Cf.* Löseth, Tristan, p. 438.

[50] About the kings of the Red City, *cf.* my article on Gorre, p. 48 ff., 71, and a review of mine in Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr., 49, p. 153 ff.

[51] The ship sailed into the Humber. The Humber again!

[52] About Brangemuer, *cf.* my article ' Eigennamen in den Lais der Marie de France ' in Zs. f. frz. Spr. 49, pp. 212 ff.

This survey may show that the Viking kingdom of the Isles enjoyed a certain renown in the French Arthurian romances. We may distinguish three groups of romances, which independently drew (directly or indirectly) from the traditions of Scotland: (a) a group which gave the Hebrides their Gaelic name (Fergus), (b) a group which gave a French translation of it (Prose Lancelot and the romances influenced by it), (c) a group which simply called them *les Illes*. Persons who are unacquainted with Arthurian literature will think that (a) must be the oldest group, (c) the latest; but Arthurian scholars know that the case is quite the reverse. Among the historical rulers of the Hebrides Sumerled is the only one whose name has been preserved in an Arthurian romance.

E. Brugger.

Merlin in the Arthurian Prose Cycle

MERLIN makes his first appearance in two Latin works of the twelfth century, the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the *Vita Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is now possible to state definitely that he is no hero of lost Celtic tradition, but a figment of Geoffrey's imagination.[1] We might even say that Geoffrey has invented not one Merlin but two. There is the Ambrosius Merlinus of the *Historia,* the 'fatherless child', born of a noble lady and an 'incubus daemon' (*Historia,* Book VI, c. 18). He, even as a child, was able to show Vortigern why his tower would not stand; and later, through his powers of divination and magic, became the most valued counsellor of Aurelius and Uther Pendragon. He brought Stonehenge from Ireland so that Aurelius might set up a fitting monument to the nobles slain in the battle at Salisbury (*Historia,* Bk. VIII, cc. 10-12). He also made possible the meeting of Uther and Igerne, from which union was born Arthur (*Hist.,* Bk. VIII, cc. 19, 20).

Merlin is not only a seer and a magician, he is also a prophet. He utters a series of heraldic prophecies about the Kings of Britain (*Historia,* Bk. VII). These prophecies enjoyed great popularity, and were adapted or imitated by numerous writers.

After the birth of Arthur Merlin disappears from the *Historia.* The Merlin we meet in the *Vita Merlini,* written some years later, is not the same—he is a king. 'Rex erat et vates Demetarum' (*Vita Merlini,* l, 21).

He becomes mad with grief after the death of three of his friends in a battle, and hides himself in the forest, living like a beast. When captured by his friends, who hope to cure him, he is not tempted by their promises of great gifts if he will stay with them, but longs to return to the forest. He

[1] See E. Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne: Etudes et Documents.*

makes strange utterances which he will only explain if he is promised his liberty. They do not believe in what he says, but he is afterwards proved to be right. He accuses his sister of infidelity to her husband (*Vita,* II, 254-304). A certain person appears before him in three different disguses, asking him what death he will die. Merlin gives a different answer each time, and his friends think that this is another proof of his folly, but his predictions are completely fulfilled. Twice he breaks into wild laughter: at a man begging by the wayside, and at a pilgrim who, when buying a pair of new shoes, buys a piece of leather to repair them when they shall be worn. Merlin later explains that he laughed because the beggar was sitting on a hidden treasure, and because the pilgrim would not live to wear his shoes. A treasure is discovered where the beggar was sitting, and the pilgrim died before reaching his home.

Merlin recovers his sanity after a time, but prefers to remain in the forest to study astrology and to make political prophecies. He learns that King Arthur was taken to Avalon to be healed by Morgen, and that after long years he may return. Geoffrey prudently makes Merlin state that the time for such a return is still far distant.[2]

In the Chronicles of Wace and Layamon[3] nothing is added to the account of Merlin given by Geoffrey in the *Historia,* with the exception of a supposed prophecy of Merlin that it would never be known whether King Arthur had died or not (*Roman de Brut,* II, 13688-13697).

The next account of Merlin which concerns us is the *Merlin* of Robert de Boron, which is supposed to have been written in verse, but of which we have only a prose version. Robert de Boron gives us an account of the life of Merlin from his birth up to the Coronation of King Arthur, and while he draws it mainly from the *Historia,* he utilizes some of the *Vita Merlini.*

He begins with the strange birth of Merlin, but here, instead of being a phenomenon which, if strange, is not un-

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Wace, *Roman de Brut*; Layamon, *Brut.*

known, it becomes part of a plot of ' Li Anemis ' to weaken the influence of Christianity. Merlin was to have been a fiend in human form and to have been the instrument of evil, but this is frustrated by the piety of his mother. He says of himself : ' Ie sui fils a un anemi qui engigna ma mere, et saces que tel maniere danemi ont a non Esquibedes et repairent en lair, et Diex a souffert que jaie lor sens et lor memoire, si sai les coses qui sont faites et dites et alees . . . Et Nostre Sires qui souffri et vaut que ie eusse ce en memoire par la bonte ma mere et por sa sainte vraie repentance . . . ma doune tant de vertu que ie sai les choses que a venir sont.[4]

As in the *Historia,* Vortigern sends for the fatherless child as a sacrifice, to make his tower stand; and Merlin shows that the enchanters are wrong and what should be done instead of the proposed sacrifice. Robert has added here two episodes from the *Vita Merlini,* the incident of the pilgrim and the shoes,[5] unaltered, and the prophecy of the triple death, rather less ingeniously arranged.[6] Aurelius, the brother of Uther Pendragon, does not exist in Robert's version, but some incidents of his reign are transferred to that of Uther. It is for Uther that Merlin sets up Stonehenge, to celebrate a victory against the Saxons,[7] but the explanation of the origin and properties of the stones is omitted.

Again, Merlin helps Uther to meet Igerne, but instead of disappearing after this Merlin acquires a new importance. Robert has altered the story of the childhood of Arthur, perhaps because he felt it unfitting that Igerne should acknowledge Arthur as her son. Here Merlin takes the child and places him in the family of Antor, father of Kex. On Uther's death some sixteen years later Merlin prepared the magic sword in the magic stone, with an inscription saying that he who could draw it out should be King. But the barons, thinking that Arthur was the son of Antor, were unwilling to accept Arthur as their king, even after he had drawn the sword out on

[4] Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances,* vol. ii, p. 17.

[5] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, p. 28.

[6] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, pp. 45-7.

[7] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, pp. 52-3.

three separate occasions. They refused to believe that he was Uther's son, but Merlin convinced the people, and Arthur was finally crowned. Here Robert's *Merlin* ends, but Merlin himself appears again in Robert's *Perceval,* as the adviser of King Arthur.

In the *Perceval* Merlin is still alive after Arthur has been carried to Avalon; it is Merlin who tells Perceval and Blaise[8] what has happened to Arthur. He then decides that he does not wish to stay among the people. 'Lors vint Merlin a Blaisses et Perceval, et prist congie d'aux, et lor dit que Nostre Sire ne vouloit mie que il demorast au pueple . . . ne il ne pooit mie morir devant le deffinement del siecle, mes donc aura il la joie pardurable; et je feroi de jost cest maison, dehors ceste forest mon habitage, et la voudrai converser et prophetizerai quant que Nostre Sires me voudra enseignier, et tot cil qui mon habitage verront, lapeleront l'Esplumeors Mellin. Atant s'entorna Merlin et fist son esplumeor et entra dedenz, ne oncques puis ne fust veu au siecle.'[9] This may be a reminiscence of the forest home of Merlin in the *Vita Merlini,* and certainly it has influenced the later versions of the disappearance of Merlin. The same religious element introduced by Robert into his account of the birth of Merlin is seen again here.

Robert de Boron's *Merlin* was incorporated in the Prose Cycle. It was placed after the *Estoire del Saint Graal,* where, naturally, Merlin had no part, and before the *Lancelot.* Now between the coronation of Arthur and the Prose *Lancelot* there is a gap. This gap is now filled by three continuations of Robert's *Merlin*: (i) the 'Estoire de Merlin', or, as it is usually called, the 'Vulgate Merlin'; (ii) the 'Huth-Merlin'; (iii) the 'Livre d'Artus.'[10]

[8] Blaise is Merlin's 'maistre', to whom he goes to relate all his adventures and those of the court of King Arthur. Blaise is supposed to record them all.

[9] Hucher, *Le Saint Graal,* vol. i.

[10] 'Vulgate Merlin', published by Sommer in the second volume of his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances.*

'Huth-Merlin', published by Gaston Paris for the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

'Livre d'Artus', published by Sommer in the seventh volume of his *Vulgate.*

The two latter are certainly posterior to the *Lancelot,* and it seems probable that the 'Vulgate Merlin', in its present form, is also later. It is possible that, before the *Lancelot,* there existed some account of the early part of the reign of King Arthur, and of the fate of Merlin, intended to supply the missing period. This possibility seems to be strengthened by the existence, in the *Lancelot* itself,[11] of a reference to the treachery of the lady Merlin loved. This lady, who is here identified with Nymenche, the Lady of the Lake, 'le seala tout en dormant en une cave dedens la perilleuse forest de Darnantes. Iluec remeist en teil maniere, car onques puis par nului ne fu seus ne par nul homme veus qui noveles en seust dire.' In order that Nymenche may not appear too odious in doing this, the character of Merlin has been blackened, and we are told: 'Il fu de la nature son peire, dechevans et desloiaus, et sot quanques cuers pooit savoir de toute perverse science.' This is the only place where Merlin is said to love Nymenche; he is already in the *Vita Merlini* slightly connected with Morgain; and gradually any lady who can practise magic is said to have been loved and taught by Merlin.

One manuscript (B.N. fr. 754 f. 14) contains a reference to the ultimate liberation of Merlin by Perceval: 'tant que Perlevax lan traist et gita hors qui vit la grant merveille del Graal apres la mort de Lancelot, si com li contes devisera ca avant.' There is no further mention of this, which seems to be a unique addition.

I have suggested that the story of the disappearance of Merlin in the Prose *Lancelot* may be due to a lost continuation of Robert de Boron's *Merlin,* but it is not impossible that it is simply an adaptation of the end of the *Perceval.* The addition referring to his liberation by Perceval may have been made by a scribe who was aware that in the *Perceval* Merlin was alive and free after the death of King Arthur.

Through the remainder of the Prose *Lancelot* we hear of the prophecies of Merlin as infallible. The actual prophecies quoted are not, of course, borrowed from Geoffrey, though they seem to be influenced by the heraldic nature of those he

[11] *Vulgate,* vol. iii, p. 21.

made. ' Si nos dist Merlins qui encor ne nos a menti de riens ' is a not uncommon remark. Further, enchanted objects are often given the name of Merlin with little or no explanation.[12]

It would be a pity to pass on to the *Queste del Saint Graal* without quoting the prophecy of Merlin about Oxford : ' Cil (uns clers) estoit nes dun chastel que Merlins apela le gué des bos, la ou il dist que toute sapience descendroit; et li clers avoit a non Mestres Petrones, par lui furent lez prophesies Merlin en escrit. Et ce fu cil qui la premiere escole tint a Ocxenefort, qui dist autretant comme gué des bos.'[13]

We might expect that when we reach the story of the Queste itself there will be no place among these mysteries for Merlin the magician, and indeed he is referred to very rarely, except with reference to the Round Table and the ' Siege Perilleus.'[14] But, as Pauphilet says, ' Merlin seul, dont la sagesse avait plus de reputation que les sortilèges, était devenu un magicien acceptable même dans les légendes sacrées.'[15]

In the last part of the Prose Cycle we hear of Merlin ' ki plus fu certains des coses qui estoient a avenir que hom ki fust onques encore en nostre tans,'[16] but the majority of the prophecies in that book are drawn from the *Queste,* and were made by monks or hermits, not by Merlin.

At some period the gap between the accession of Arthur and the arrival of Lancelot at his court was bridged by the three existing versions. The ' Livre d'Artus ' is clearly derived from the Prose *Lancelot,* though it is written in an entirely different tone. Merlin, often mentioned, is of no real importance, usually being quoted as having made unimportant predictions or being asked to break some enchantment, like that of the ' Laide Semblance '.[17]

[12] ' Li Perons Merlin ', *Vulgate,* vol. iii, p. 275; ' La Tor Merlin ', *Vulgate,* vol. iv, p. 288; ' Lit de Merlin ', *Vulgate,* vol. v, p. 332.

[13] *Vulgate,* vol. iv, p. 23. See also Ferdinand Lot, *Étude sur le Lancelot en Prose,* p. 186, note 8, where the source of this prophecy is suggested.

[14] *La Queste del Saint Graal,* ed. A. Pauphilet, p. 116.

[15] A. Pauphilet, ' La Queste du MS. B.N. fr. 743 ', Romania xxxvi, p. 604.

[16] *La Mort Artu,* ed. J. D. Bruce, p. 222.

[17] *Vulgate,* vol. vii, pp. 159-61.

The ' Huth-Merlin ' is of greater interest, though it contains elaborate episodes evidently intended to explain some obscurities in the rest of the Cycle—and occasionally contradicting one part of the Cycle in attempting to explain another, as in the finding of Escalibor.[18]

Merlin is imprisoned by his lady, Niviene, in a cavity. Baudemagus speaks to him after this, but he is not seen again, although we are told that Niviene herself will continue to visit him.[19] In this version the role of Merlin is lessened by the increased importance of Morgain, who is responsible for many of the enchantments. She is loved by Merlin, but does not return his love.

There remains the ' Vulgate Merlin ', which was deservedly the most popular version; it is found in all the extant cyclic manuscripts. These three continuations of the Merlin were written rather to prepare the coming of Lancelot than to relate a further history of Merlin. The Vulgate Merlin, however, gives Merlin himself more importance. Borrowing and adapting exploits and battles of King Arthur from the *Historia,* it gives him Merlin as a frequent and indispensable companion.

Merlin casts an enchantment over the rebel barons, so that Arthur is finally able to subdue them. He carries a magic standard in many battles against the Saxons : ' [Merlin] portoit el semet un dragon petit ne gaires grant, qui avoit la keue longue une toise et demie tortice, et avoit la geule baee si grant quil vous fust avis que la langue qui dedens estoit se branlast tous iours, et li sailloient estincheles de feu hors de la goule parmi lair.'[20]

When Arthur is fighting abroad Merlin is able to tell him what is happening in England, and whether Arthur should return home. He is thus able to dispense with the special messengers who were necessary in the *Historia.* It is Merlin who advises Arthur to marry Guenevere and who, later, arranges the wedding. Merlin is connected with the religious

[18] ' Huth-Merlin ', vol. i, pp. 197-9.

[19] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, pp. 194-8.

[20] *Vulgate,* vol. ii, p. 143.

mysteries of the story; he relates to Arthur the early history of the Holy Graal, and tells him of Galahad who will achieve the adventures of the Quest. He instructs him to found a Round Table, as a third table at which the Last Supper may be fittingly celebrated, and upon which the Graal may descend.

These incidents relate chiefly to the glory and greatness of King Arthur, but there is also a series of episodes, adapted from the *Vita Merlini,* which indicate an interest in Merlin himself and in his powers apart from his services to the King. Merlin, in the *Historia,* did not remain at court; those who needed his assistance were obliged to seek him. In the ' Vulgate Merlin ' he spends much of his time near the King, with occasional long absences. It is in one of these long absences that this series of episodes from the *Vita Merlini* is introduced. The Emperor Julius Caesar has a strange dream; next morning Merlin, in the form of a stag, appears before him, telling him that only the wild man can interpret his dream. The Emperor's seneschal succeeds in catching the wild man and rides back with him to the court. On the way the wild man twice breaks into inexplicable laughter, and refuses to explain himself. On arrival at the court he promises to explain both the dream and his laughter if he is given his freedom. The dream, he explains, is the symbol of the infidelity of the Empress, whose ladies are really young men in disguise. Again, Merlin is proved to be right, and the Empress is punished. Merlin explains his mysterious laughter: this time it is a crowd of beggars outside an abbey, and they are standing over a treasure. This story is not spoilt by its alteration, but the story of the Empress, also suggested by the *Vita Merlini,* has lost the saving elements of wit and brevity which it possessed in the original. There is an attempt to connect this group of episodes with the rest of the romance. We are told that the Emperor's admiration for Merlin made him so jealous of King Arthur that he finally waged war on him.

Some of Merlin's disappearances from the court are due to his visits to his treacherous lady, Viviane. He is no match for her, and although he knew she would ultimately imprison

him: 'si navoit il riens el siecle autretant amé come feme, et bien i parut, car tant sabandouna et tant li aprist de son sens unes foi et autres, que il sen pot tenir por fol al darrain.'[21]

Merlin kept his liberty for a time, continuing his enchantments, arranging the meeting of King Ban and the daughter of Agravadain by one of his spells. This episode is evidently imitated from the story of Uther and Igerne, though it is told in a different spirit, the lovers repenting as soon as the enchantment ends.

When Arthur was secure upon his throne, victor over his most dangerous enemies, Merlin came to court for what he said must be his last visit. 'Et quant Merlins ot illueques demoure viij jours si sen parti et dist a Blaise que chest la daaraine foys, quar il seiournerait avec samie ne si nauroit iamais pooir de li laissier, ne daler ne de venir a son vouloir.'[22]

Viviane imprisons him in an invisible prison of air, as he himself taught her, and although she visits him herself, no one else ever sees him again. Gawain passes by his prison one day, and Merlin speaks to him and tells him his misfortune. Were it not necessary for some one to tell the court what had happened to Merlin, he would probably not have been allowed this last favour.

Thus Merlin himself disappeared, though his fame remained. 'Merlin le prophete as Englois, qui sot toute la sapience qui des dyables puet deschendre, et por che fu il tant redoutes des bretons et tant honores, que tout lapeloient lor saint prophete. Et tout la menue gent lapeloient lor dieu.'[23] It was appropriate for Merlin to disappear before the arrival of Lancelot, for although he had made prophecies about Lancelot and his cousins he belongs really to the earlier state of the legend, when King Arthur was not yet partially eclipsed by his wife's lover. It is fitting, too, that Merlin's mantle should fall upon Morgain, whose magic is as treacherous and underhand as the passion of Lancelot.

[21] *Vulgate*, vol. ii, p. 421.
[22] *Vulgate*, vol. ii, p. 451.
[23] *Vulgate*, vol. iii, p. 19.

Neither in the origin nor in the development of the character of Merlin need we look for Celtic influence. The writers of the French romances have borrowed and adapted the inventions of Geoffrey of Monmouth. They have added nothing striking to the character of his Merlins; they have made him a more vague figure than he was in the *Vita Merlini*. Robert de Boron made an attempt to make Merlin a Christian magician, but his attempt, never entirely convincing, was neglected by his successors. Merlin, indeed, plays but a small part, although he is produced when a magician is required, or quoted when it is necessary to point out that a prophecy is being fulfilled. He has, however, enjoyed great popularity, and is not yet forgotten, though perhaps we may hardly say with Geoffrey: 'Clarus habebatur Merlinus in orbe Britannus.'

MARJORIE B. FOX.

The Prince of Gascony

(Read before the Society on May 22nd, 1930.)

THE tale of which a summary follows[1] is of interest as illustrating the intrusion of Arthurian names into Irish folk-lore.[2] The names of King (usually Cing) Arthur himself, Sir Balwin of Cornavas, and the Round Table are probably the only Arthurian elements in the story. It may be noted that the use of the chariot is distinctively Irish. Whether any of the incidents correspond to anything in English or Continental Arthurian legend is a question that must be left to Arthurian scholars. From the form in which the king's name occurs throughout, it is evident that such acquaintance with Arthurian legend as the author of the Irish story possessed was derived from English sources.

OUTLINE OF THE STORY

Heliodorus, king of Gascony, had an only son. The nobles of the kingdom assembled and asked for the privilege of fostering the child. The king would not hear of fosterage in the ordinary sense of the institution, but decided that his son should be brought up at home in the company of the sons of all his nobles. There follows a short description of the training the boys received—they were taught all languages as well as the science of arms. Among his companions the king's son was known as the Active Youth of Gascony, and he justified the title by making himself conspicuous in wars and raids on neighbouring territory.

[1] The only copy known to me is contained in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 477, fol. 10r-22v. This MS. was written, probably in the north of Ireland, in the year 1678.

[2] Two stories of a somewhat similar character, 'The Story of the Crop-eared Dog' and 'The Story of Eagle Boy', have been published with translations by Professor Douglas Hyde, *Two Irish Arthurian Romances* (Irish Texts Society, vol. x).

A suitable wife for the Prince of Gascony was found in the daughter of the King of the Salmon Pool, the geographical position of which is left entirely vague. In her dowry were included a hunting-horn a blast on which would attract all the wild animals within hearing, and three hounds which never failed to overtake and kill whatever they pursued.

In the course of the marriage-feast a herald got to his feet and, in a loud voice, asked whether any one had ever seen anything to match that palace or that assembly, their wealth and generosity, or their music and other accomplishments. A stranger answered that there was in the world a palace with which that of the King of Gascony could not be compared—namely the palace of the Red Hall, the residence of King Arthur, the High King of the World. King Arthur's household, too, his knights and ladies, had no equals, and no one could be accounted a real king or knight unless he had spent a year at Arthur's court. There follows a description of the magnificent ceremonial of Arthur's court.

On hearing this the Active Youth of Gascony immediately announced that he proposed to set out for Britain to spend a year at the court of King Arthur and to be knighted. During that year he would be known by the name of the Master of the Hunt, and, with the assistance of his magic horn and hounds, would supply the world for the space of a year with abundance of venison.

The Prince and his retinue arrive at the palace of King Arthur just when a festival was being celebrated. This was natural, for one of Arthur's customs was to have a festival on every day of the year. The king greets the Active Youth of Gascony and asks what his intentions are. Gascony explains that he wishes to acquire the accomplishments of knight-errantry in the best school in the world, and adds that his hunting-horn and hounds will make him a profitable guest. He and his company are at once assigned quarters in the royal palace.

On the following day King Arthur and his household, with the Master of the Hunt, go to the forest, and hunt with unprecedented success. The Master remains behind in the forest, and while he is seated on the hill-side a beautiful doe appears.

The three hounds give chase, but the doe outstrips them and disappears. Next day all this is repeated—the king and his household go a-hunting, the Master is left behind, and sees the beautiful doe escape from his hounds.

On the third day when the doe appears the Master joins his hounds in the pursuit, and deep in the heart of the forest comes on a summer-house in a garden. Inside the summer-house he found a lady whose appearance is described in the conventional language of Irish literature—lips redder than a lobster, teeth whiter than a shower of pearls, and so on. She greets the Master of the Hunt, compliments him on his professional skill, and tells him that it was she who had appeared to him in the form of a doe. They talk till evening, when the Master goes home. Throughout the following week he spends each day with the Lady of the Summer-House.

At this point it appears that the Master's wife, daughter of the King of the Salmon Pool, had accompanied him to Britain. She becomes interested in her husband's prolonged and frequent visits to the forest, follows him, and makes the acquaintance of the Lady of the Summer-House. The two ladies take to each other at once, and she of the Summer-House proposes to accompany the Master and his wife to the Red Hall. She is thus introduced to the Round Table.

One day the Master's wife charges the Lady of the Summer-House with lack of that complete frankness and confidence which ought to exist between friends, and without much difficulty gets her to reveal her secret. The Lady of the Summer-House confesses that she is known by the nickname of ' Grey Ankle ', because on her ankle is a tuft of grey hair which cannot be cut by the keenest blade, and the sight of which would bring on its owner the hatred and loathing of all the world. She cannot live in any country in which her secret is known. Her friend expresses profound sympathy, and assures her that nothing can ever impair their friendship. They separate. The Lady of the Summer-House takes her place on King Arthur's right, and her friend goes to talk to the Queen. There follows :

Queen : Your friend's visit here has done us no good, for ever since she appeared, our husbands will not look at us.

The Master's Wife : I, too, have suffered. What would you give me to rid you of this plague?

Queen : There is nothing on earth that we shall not give you, provided it is in our power.

The Master's wife tells them of Grey Ankle's blemish, and suggests that, if they all address her by this nickname and shame her in the presence of the King and his knights, they will have no difficulty in bringing their husbands to heel. The leading role in the exposure is assigned to the wife of Sir Balwin of Cornabas.

This lady delivers a lengthy oration which ends with a description of the Grey Ankle, the sight or report of which would inspire every one with horror and disgust.

The Lady of the Summer-House flies into a passion, gets up from her place by the King's side, clenches her fist and strikes the Master's wife on the mouth, breaking her teeth. She then turns to King Arthur and tells him that there is not a word of truth in the accusation ; that her ankle would compare favourably with that of any lady in his court, and that she insisted on a comparison on the spot.

It is found that the unsightly tuft of grey hair is not on the ankle of the Lady of the Summer-House, but on the ankles of all her rivals, ' and the men who had not been in love with her before, fell in love with her now '.

Thereupon she composes a poem in which she describes the plot to discredit her and how it failed, and announces that wherever the poem is recited prosperity will follow : from the house in which it is heard no dead body will be borne for a year, the traveller who hears it when setting out on his journey will fare safe and sound by sea and land.

As she finished her address to the ladies of the court a chariot with a canopy was seen approaching. The Lady of the Summer-House recognized the occupant and pointed him out to King Arthur as the avenger of her wrongs. The King invites the stranger, who is the lady's foster-father, to his palace.

After dinner the Lady of the Summer-House again makes a speech to the women of the court, and assures them that their husbands will not return to them till doomsday ; and, turning

to King Arthur and his knights, she invites them to accompany her and her foster-father to a land where there are hosts of beautiful women. She tells them who she is. Her name is Ellen the Radiant, her father king of a country called by an early Irish name for the north of Scotland. Her foster-father, King of Salverna, is also known as the Champion of the Mint, for he can turn anything into coin and could purchase the whole world from the rising to the setting of the sun with ready money. He is also known as Stronghand, for if he could get his palm under the earth he could turn it over. He has also power over the demons of the air and in the palaces of Hell. He has one daughter named Betuine.

The Champion of the Mint now begins to explain the presence of the Lady of the Summer-House at the Round Table. She has not her equal, he says, in the island of Thule and the northern parts of Scotland . . . .

Here he is interrupted by some one who says that there is a King in the regions of the Tyrrhenians whose court is not excelled by any in the world. There are seven gates in his castle, and when the King rides abroad one hundred and fifty chariots, each drawn by four horses, issue from each gateway. They can pass equally readily over land and sea. He has a son, Cedach of the Sparkling Teeth, and a daughter, Lovely Hue. His son is the husband for the Lady of the Summer-house. It was during their marriage feast in the Plain of Purple Hazels that King Arthur's court had been spoken of as the most magnificent in the world. The lady immediately set out for Britain; if she found at the court of King Arthur a more attractive knight she would marry him; otherwise she would return to her betrothed.

'All that is true', the Lady of the Summer-House said, 'and now, King Arthur, come with me to my home and you shall have a good wife instead of a bad one, namely Lovely Hue, and every man of your company will fare likewise.'

Next morning they put to sea and arrive, without any memorable incident, at the Plain of Purple Hazels or Fruitful Plain. Here strange things happen. On the hill-side appears a stag with antlers of gold and standing between them Sparkling

Teeth, the betrothed husband of the Lady of the Summer-House. In the attempt to capture it Arthur and his knights lose all their dogs and all their weapons. When they complain to Ellen the Radiant she reminds them that she had had to submit to far worse treatment in Britain. She invites them into her mansion, the wonders of which are described, where Arthur falls in love with Lovely Hue, and Sir Balwin of Cornabas with Betuine, the Champion of the Mint's daughter. At this stage a great host of armed men emerge from a cave, fall on Arthur's people, and kill many of them. Again Arthur remonstrates and is told that the insults to the Lady of the Summer-House have not yet been fully avenged. The army he had just seen, the lady told him, had been sent from Hell. Presently there appeared from the same cave an unpleasant-looking man leading a hound on a chain, and instantly the countryside is seen to be covered with hounds. They attack Arthur's people, kill large numbers of them, and carry their bodies into the cave. At last Sir Balwin gets to grips with the original dog and is on the point of strangling it, when the lady intervenes and begs him to spare it. She explains that what they have seen was all an illusion. The host which had appeared from the cave and the multitudes of hounds were really Ellen the Radiant's ladies-in-waiting; and presently Arthur's men reappear from the cave none the worse of their adventure.

At this point the MS. ends.

J. Fraser.

Notes on the *Tristan* Romance

I

PRACTICAL REALISM IN BÉROUL'S *TRISTAN*

(Read before the Society on March 14th, 1929.)

IN considering Malory's treatment of the French Arthurian romances, the President has pointed out the extremely matter-of-fact way in which the English knight dealt with the material details incident to the stories. He sees in this a sign of the times—the practical, disillusioned fifteenth century—and of Malory's upper-middle-class point of view; and uses it to show how far from the original temper of Arthurian romance is the *Morte D'arthur* of the Englishman.

Yet in Béroul's *Tristan,* one of the earliest of the romances, there is a strain as practical, and even harder. Béroul was a Norman, and there are indications in his version of the romance that the proverbial shrewdness of his countrymen was not lacking in him. It is not the purpose of these notes to dwell on the starkness or the bitterness of the story in his hands—the harshness of Iseult, the cruelty that is the reverse side of Mark's gentleness or Governal's faithfulness, the terror of the fate overshadowing the lovers—but to consider a few details which in their material realism are as earthy as any observation of Malory.

In the fountain scene Tristan and Iseult are plainly lying, knowing that Marc is concealed and can hear them. Iseult reproaches her lover for summoning her: he excuses himself by telling his necessitous plight. Since he has been banished the king's court, he has been unable to pay his lodging, and has pledged his armour for his arrears. He asks Iseult to help him:—

> Engagiez est tot mon hernois.
> Car me le faites delivrer:
> Si m'en fuirai, n' i os ester,
> . . . . Yseut, por Deu, de moi pensez,
> Envers mon hoste m'aquitez (ll. 203-5, 217-18).

Iseult refuses, she dare not so compromise herself; and her lover goes on:—

> Ha! Dex, beau sire saint Evrol,
> Je ne pensai faire tel perte
> Ne foïr m'en a tel poverté!
> N'en merrai armes ne cheval,
> Ne conpaignon fors Governal.
> Ha! Dex, d'ome desatorné!
> Petit fait om de lui chierté . . . . (ll. 236-44.)

There is mixed truth and lying in all this, but a more material complaint was never used by a lover, even as a feint.

Later, when Marc, after the discovery, offers Yseut to be common to the lepers—the scene is of a revolting horror—the description of the economy of the leper colony, by Ivain, is grimly humorous in its detail:

> Se la donez a nos meseaus,
> Qant el verra nos bas bordeaus
> Et eslira l'escüellier
> Et l'estovra a nos couchier
> (Sire, en leu de tes beaus mengiers
> Avra de pieces, de quartiers
> Que l'en nos envoi a cel hues),
> Por cel seignor qui maint lasus,
> Quant or verra la nostre cort,
> Adonc verra son desconfort. (ll. 1203-12.)

The lovers suffered much hardship, in their exile in the forest of Morois; Tristan was a great huntsman, but their cooking was rude, and the lack of bread and salt was a sad privation.

> Governal sot de la cuisine,
> De seche busche fait buen feu.
> Mot avoient a faire queu!
> Il n'avoient ne lait ne sel
> A cele foiz a lor ostel. (ll. 1294-8.)

And again:

Mestier ert que la sauvagine
Lor aïdast en la gaudine;
Qar falliz lor estoit li pains,
N'il n'osoient issir as plains. (ll. 1767-70.)

After three years they think to part, and repair to the hermit, Ogrin; and when it is decided that Iseult shall return to the king, the holy man, with his little store, goes to St. Michael's Mount.

Li hermites en vet au Mont,
Por les richeces qui la sont.
Assés achate ver et gris,
Dras de soie et de porpre bis,
Escarlates et blanc chainsil,
Asez plus blanc que flor de lil,
Et palefroi souef anblant,
Bien atorné d'or flamboiant.
Ogrins l'hermite tant achate
Et tant acroit et tant barate
Pailes, vairs et gris et hermine
Que richement vest la roïne. (ll. 2733-44.)

His purchases were successful: at the meeting of Marc and Iseult. the latter is first received by Dinas, who

Du col li a osté la chape,
Qui ert d'escarlate mot riche.
Ele out vestu une tunique
Desus un grant bliaut de soie.
De son mantel que vos diroie?
Ainz l'ermite, qui l'achata,
Le riche fuer ne regreta. (ll. 2880-6.)

The magnificence of the royal trains at the Mal Pas, fully described, is no more than we expect in a romance of this time: perhaps, in Béroul, it is the more striking because of the grim fate behind it. But in these slighter touches, these material details, we have glimpses of a realism that has nothing to learn from the later middle ages.

II

'THE FAMOUS TRAGEDY OF THE QUEEN OF CORNWALL', BY THOMAS HARDY.

(*Read before the Society on May 23rd,* 1929.)

WRITTEN between 1916 and 1923, this play, in twenty-four scenes, with prologue and epilogue, arranged for mummers, is less the 'Famous Tragedy' than a tragic Epilogue to the disastrous love of Tristan and Iseult. The reader who goes to Hardy's work with a mind conscious of the tragic nobility of the romance in the early versions, of Béroul and Thomas, is inevitably struck by the major incongruity—that to Hardy the tragedy is but the death, not the love, of Tristan and Iseult.

The main threads of the story are taken from that tradition, fathered by the Prose Version, which makes Mark a tyrant, jealous and brutal—in Hardy's play a drunken boor. Iseult of the White Hands—here called Palepalm, reminiscent of Fenimore Cooper—is a jealous shrew, commonplace if not actually common. There is a hardness about the Queen of Cornwall which is, indeed, in the true tradition; and she truly dominates the action in so far as there is any domination by character. Readers of Hardy's novels will not fail to notice the puppet quality of all the characters, who are worked by an equivalent to the President of the Immortals. In this case, the play being staged by Merlin, who appears in Prologue and Epilogue, we are given the strange illusion that he is the master of their destinies. The chanters, men and women, who form the chorus, are other alien elements, reminiscent now of classical tragedy, now of J. M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea*. Whatever merits the work may have as a mummer's play, students of the Tristan legend must first discount these foreign elements; and our task here is to judge what real value Hardy's conception of the tragedy may have, and how far he is justified in his adaptation.

The plot is as follows: During an absence of King Mark from Tintagel, Iseult has taken ship, none knows whither, and returned. We are told afterwards that she had gone to see the dying Tristram (so spelt in this play), had been received by Iseult the Whitehanded with the tale of Tristram's death, and had returned. But Tristram was not dead, only in a swoon, since his wife, lying jealously, had told him that the sails announcing Iseult's presence on the ship were black, not white. He had revived, and, bitterly upbraiding his wife, had set out for Cornwall, and arrived at Tintagel disguised as a harper, soon after Mark also had returned, suspicious and brutal. The harper is suspected by Andret, who throughout encourages the king in his jealousy. Meanwhile the second Iseult, distracted by her husband's anger, has crept in, having followed him. Her inquiries at Tintagel betray Tristram; and while she, with Iseult as onlooker from a balcony, expostulates with Tristram, Mark, who with Andret was also watching, creeps down; and as Tristram declares his renewed love for Iseult Queen of Cornwall, Mark stabs him. Iseult in her turn stabs Mark, and throws herself from the parapet into the Atlantic. The second Iseult is left, making preparations for her return to Brittany, taking Brangwain with her.

While, in comparison with the earlier versions, this is entirely apocryphal, there are traits which show a knowledge of the canon and which are not ineffectively used.

(I.) Scene II. The Chanters (=chorus) are entirely on the side of the lovers: in answer to a question as to where Iseult had been, they reply:

> We do not know. We will not know.
> She took a ship from the shore below,
> And was gone many days.
> By friending winds she's back before him:
> Extol God should she and adore Him
> For covering up her ways!

So, in the old romances, the powers of heaven, and human opinion, always upheld them.

(II.) The dog Houdain—called here the brachet—enters with Iseult in Scene III and perishes with her in Scene XXII.

Scene III, stage direction: *Enter* QUEEN ISEULT THE FAIR *attended, and followed by the hound* HOUDAIN.

Scene XXII, BRANGWAIN:

She's swallowed up, and Tristram's brachet with her! . . . .
What have we here? . . . . Sir Tristram's body? O!

CHANTERS (Men):

Alas, for this wroth day!
She's leapt the edge and fallen
Into the loud black bay,
Whose waters, loosed and swollen,
Are spirting into spray!
She's vanished from the world,
Over the blind rock hurled;
And the little hound her friend
Has made with her its end!

The 'little hound' suggests that Hardy has fused, or confused, Husdent with Petit-cru.

(III.) Tristram comes disguised as a harper—this is an ancient element. We may question whether the strong lyrical element in this play, which like all other works by this writer is most effective in its lyrical passages, is quite of the genius of the Tristan legend. The charming song of Iseult in Scene VII gives her a pensive quality which is in accordance neither with the Iseult of Béroul nor with the whole character of the woman in Hardy's work now under observation.

Q. ISEULT *sings sadly to herself*:

Could he but live for me
A day, yea, even an hour,
Its petty span would be
Steeped in felicity
Passing the price of Heaven's held-dearest dower:
Could he but live, could *he*
But live for me!

Could he but come to me
Amid these murks that lour,
My hollow life would be
So brimmed with ecstasy
As heart-dry honeysuck by summer shower:
Could he but come, could he
But come to me!

(IV.) The use of a *sous-entendu,* to deceive Mark, is reminiscent of the Fountain Scene in Béroul. In Scene XI Iseult interviews the harper, who sings to her—

Let's meet again to-night, my Fair,
Let's meet unseen of all;
The day-god labours to his lair,
And then the evenfall!

O living lute, o lily-rose,
O form of fantasie,
When torches waste and warders doze
Steal to the stars will we! . . . .

and Mark can, they know, hear him from the banqueting-hall.

(V.) In Scene X there is a reference to ' Sir Kay ', who must surely be Kaherdin: :

TRISTRAM:

My Queen and best belov'd! At last again; . . . .
. . . . I mended swiftly, stung by circumstance,
And rose and left her there, and followed you.
Sir Kay lent aidance, and has come with me.

But the chief distortion of the legend—perhaps indicated by the title—is the altered balance of the story. It is a commonplace *roman à trois;* and not the same three that we know. It is not the passion of Tristram and Iseult, with the resulting infidelity to King Mark. Rather it is the struggle of the two Iseults for Tristram, a much more vulgar affair. This explains the prominence of the second Iseult, and her long entreaties.

ISEULT THE WHITE H. :

But you don't *mean* you'll live away from me,
Leave me, and henceforth be unknown to me,
O you don't surely? I could not help coming;
Don't send me away—do not, do not, do so! . . .

Q. ISEULT (above) :

She has no claim to importune like that,
And gloss her hardihood in tracking him!

TRISTRAM :

Thou canst not haunt another woman's house!

ISEULT THE WHITE H. :

Oh yes I can, if there's no other way!
I have heard she does not mind . . . .

She would rather be her rival's bond-wench (does Hardy think of *Le Freisne*?)—but how changed is this from the delicate wife in Thomas's romance!

Mark's dagger cuts the knot of the situation, but he is still a lay-figure. The conclusion left is that Iseult of Cornwall in the end won Tristram because, after his death, she killed his adversary, and herself died, to join him. It may be doubted whether the occasional lyricism of Hardy's play in any way justifies this distortion of the greatest romance of all time.

FRANCES M. WILLIAMS.

An Episode in the Prose *Lancelot* and Virgil

THE episode narrating Lancelot's miraculous lifting of the tombstone is transferred by the author of the prose version of *Lancelot* from the place allotted to it by Chrétien de Troyes (*La Charrete*, 1841-1966) to the beginning of Lancelot's exploits in the episode of ' la Douloureuse Garde ' (Sommer, iii. 152–3). He is not content, however, to leave the gap thus created unfilled, and so he inserts the episode relating Lancelot's adventures at the tombs of his distant antecedents, Galaad the First and Simeon (Sommer, iv. 175–7). This episode was probably suggested to the author by the incident in the *Estoire* in which it is stated that Simeon can be delivered only ' par celui que je vous di qui Galaas sera apeles en baptesme ' (Sommer, i. 268). The details, however, might well have been borrowed from Virgil's account, in the Sixth Book of the Aeneid, of Aeneas' descent into Tartarus. The following passages in particular appear to be comparable :

' Il esgarde parmi une fenestre et voit une grant flamme en une cave desous terre ' (Sommer, iv. 175).

Compare *Aen.* vi. 548–51 :

> Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
> moenia lata videt triplici circumdato muro.
> quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
> Tartareus Phlegethon.

' Cils qui li mieldres chevaliers sera, aura si hautes tesches que autres n'i porroit avenir.'

' Nous sommes d'un lignage entre moi et toi [Anchises and Aeneas are father and son]. Et saches que cils qui de ci me deliverra ert mes cousins et ert si prés tes carneus amis que plus ne porra, et cils sera la fleur de touz les vrais chevaliers.'

Compare with this Anchises' description of Marcellus, who was a direct descendant of Aeneas (*Aen.* vi. 875–80):

> Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
> in tantum spe tollet avos nec Romula quondam
> ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
> Heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello
> dextera; non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
> obvius armato.

I. Gorman.

An Old French Prose Romance of *Yvain*?

AN interesting field for research is created by a note on an old French MS., in the Sir John Williams Collection in the National Library of Wales, given in the 1921 catalogue.[1] The following is the description and history of the manuscript according to this catalogue (p. 339):—

N.L.W. Additional 444—D. Yvain. *Williams MS.* 530. Formerly Ashburnham Appendix 164 (Sotheby's sale catalogue, 1 May 1899, lot 103), bought at the sale of Louis-Philippe's books (book-stamp 'Bibliothèque du roi, Palais royal', on page 1; sale-cat., 1852, part I, lot 1306). Previously belonged to N. J. Foucault (*d.* 1721), having his bookplate of arms ('Nicolai Joseph Foucault, Comitis Consistoriana'), and also his arms stamped in gilt on the calf covers, surmounted by those of Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse, Amiral de France (*d.* 1737), or his son Louis Jean Marie de Bourbon, Duc de Penthièvre, Amiral de France (*d.* 1793) [see J. Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial du Bibliophile*, volume i, 1890, pp. 53, 54].

After a few notes on the price and date of purchase of this manuscript by Lord Ashburnham, the account continues:—

A note (*signed*) by Foucault on the fly-leaf states that the manuscript was sent him on the 12th of November, 1703, by 'M. de Charancé, directeur des fermes de Languedoc à Montpellier'.

Vellum. 65 folios. 304×210 [mm.]. Fourteenth century. Apparently written in Italy. With coloured drawings illustrating the text and a few illuminated initials.

Romance of Ywain in *French* prose.

[1] *The National Library of Wales. Catalogue of Manuscripts. Vol. I. Additional Manuscripts in the Collections of Sir John Williams. . . . .* By J. H. Davies. Aberystwyth, 1921.

Rubric heading:

Ceste livre est le livre de monseignor Y[vain] et parole de maint buen cheualiers.

Begins:

En ceste partie dit li contes que misser Yuain le fis au roi Vrien cheuauchait par une grant forest qui estoit apellee la perilleuse foreste

The episode of the lion and the dragon fighting (*cf.* Chrestien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion,* lines 3341 *et seqq.*) occurs on page 1. There is a lacuna after page 2.

Ends imperfectly:

Nabon dit 'Coment, seigneur de Norgalles, estoit adonc la partie de Norgalles uencus par un cheualier de Logres qi encores estoit ieune home . . . . et dissoit si grant bonté des cheualerie qui canc'

What was this manuscript? We know that Yvain figures in many episodes and incidents in the cycle of Old French Arthurian prose romances, notably in those of Lancelot and Tristan. But there is no indication in Old French literature that any of the epiode of Chrestien de Troyes' famous romance found their way into the later prose cycles. The incident of the fight between the lion and the dragon seems to suggest that this manuscript may be a prose rendering or adaptation of the celebrated work of the Champenois poet. In the light of this, both from the point of view of the influence of Chrétien on subsequent French literature and from that of the development of the cyclic prose romances, this manuscript would well repay thorough investigation.

E. S. Murrell.

Recent Methods of Textual Criticism.

(Read before the Society on 6th March 1930.)

A RECENT development in the history of textual criticism is the excuse for this paper, in which I propose to try to draw inferences of a general nature from a controversy which has largely been waged upon points of extreme detail, and which, moreover, is already, or should be, a commonplace.

The three texts in which this controversy is to be studied are, it is hardly necessary to state, M. Bédier's introduction to his 1913 edition of the *Lai de l'ombre,* Dom Quentin's *Essais de Critique Textuelle,* and M. Bédier's reply in *Romania,* April and July–October 1928.

The problem that lies before the would-be editor of a text is that it usually survives in a number of MSS. of varying dates, often differing widely from one another, of which none reproduces exactly the original. When only one survives, or more than one completing one another, as in the *Bevis,* the case is one of purely internal criticism, and is no part of the problem. The editor has either to try to recover the original, or to give the version which he thinks most faithful to it. The task is simplified by the fact that the manuscripts usually sort themselves out into groups, and complicated by a number of phenomena. The most striking of these is, of course, that the original has generally disappeared, together with all the earliest copies and the connecting links which would explain the relationships of the survivors. Conversely, in a case like that of Frère Angier, there are no copies of the signed and dated original. Other complicating facts are the custom of scribes of emending and glossing the text, and their practice of copying from several manuscripts at once, and of correcting one from another. Lost manuscripts have perforce to be

ignored when dealing with the survivors, but they should not entirely be forgotten. Their reappearance is always a possibility, and it is inadvisable to be too ingenious in making sense out of obscure passages by suggesting emendations and juggling with the punctuation, as the sudden discovery of missing passages will make the most painstaking efforts seem ridiculous.

When, in 1890, M. Bédier first edited the *Lai de l'ombre,* he classified the manuscripts after what he called the Lachmann method. This is familiar to any one who has read almost any introduction to a critical text. It consists in grouping the manuscripts according to what are known as their 'common errors', and then constructing a genealogical tree springing from the archetype at the top. This classification here resulted in tracing the manuscripts back to two versions of the archetype. M. Bédier later realized that this was no rare phenomenon. Out of eighty editions examined by him, he found that seventy-eight were based on a similar classification, and that this dual division existed in the lower branches of the tree as well as in the highest. This was too curious a coincidence not to be suspicious, and furthermore, this state of things had not always passed unchallenged by reviewers, who, as M. Bédier remarked rather unkindly, were not going to do the work. Gaston Paris in this case put his finger on the weak spot in the classification, and proposed one instead in three branches. M. Bédier next worked out an alternative in three branches starting from a lost faulty intermediary. A three-branch classification is bound to be tiresome. In the first place, it is apt to be ambiguous. Two of the branches are always ranging themselves against the third. The classic example is Walberg's edition of Philippe de Thaün's *Bestiaire,* where only three manuscripts survive, and the editor is torn between two apparently equally valid groupings of two against one. In the second place, once established it works automatically, and the editor is constantly finding himself accepting readings against his better judgement, through mere force of numbers, whereas when two or more than three branches are involved the editor may choose. But M. Bédier

would have done his best with it, had he not had another and very uncomfortable inspiration, which was, that there might have been not one original, but two. The author might have made a presentation copy of his work, embodying corrections and revisions of his own. The editor in that case would be compiling a monstrosity of a text, as if some one were to roll the three editions of Chateaubriand's *Atala* into one. At this, M. Bédier, after remarking that there are at least two more defensible classifications of this text, renounced the task and published the text from what he considered the best and most suitable manuscript, recording the variants in foot-notes.

Before passing on to Dom Quentin's method, there is a corollary of this conclusion to be considered. Having once assumed that the archetype was gone beyond recall, the condemnation of composite texts in all forms had to follow, and the pastime of lifting words and passages from different MSS. and fitting them together like a jig-saw puzzle had to be abandoned. Furthermore, the question of the right to dedialectize a text arose. One's thoughts turn naturally to the *Roland*. In the past, abuse has been heaped upon that unfortunate compatriot of ours who has preserved the text, but is alleged to have perpetrated barbarisms which obscured it. M. Bédier has shown that the barbarisms may not be so many after all, but he also laid down the general law that a real dialect, once current, is preferable to a jargon grammatically correct, but which never was on sea or land. It sounds simple enough to correct the phonology of a text, but a dialect is not a thing so much as a convenient term, and a language cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. Exact date and social status of the author are other factors to be considered. Questions such as that of the declension in two cases are becoming less and less definite. The ideal state of a language may be recaptured, its misuse never. Moreover, one has only to look at a text like the *Adam*, an Anglo-Norman text preserved by a southern scribe, or the *Dialogues* of Frère Angier, written in England by a Continental, to realize how complex the whole question really is. The method used by Hoepffner in editing Marie de France's

Lais, that of replacing forms in one manuscript by those from another, though it aimed at being a compromise, must go with the rest. Reconstructions side by side with the real text, like that in Bayot's edition of *Gormont,* are, of course, permissible, but they are at best only glorifications of the exercise so painfully familiar to some of us under the heading: 'Rewrite the following in twelfth-century French.' No two reconstructions of one text ever agree. As regards the *Roland,* one cannot suppress some satisfaction in the fact that M. Bédier has relegated V^4 to the second group, and concentrated upon the manuscript which we have especial reason to cherish. It is hardly necessary to point out that in the case of 'remaniements', the objection to the two-branch classification does not apply.

Dom Quentin places himself in direct opposition to M. Bédier. The magnitude of his task—an edition of the Vulgate—necessitated in his view a cast-iron system. Perhaps, too, he was conscious that any other method would be open to a charge of irreverence. We are qualified to discuss under neither head. It is only when he carries the war into the enemy's camp that we may begin to criticize, and this he does when he seeks to apply his method to the *Lai de l'ombre.*

Dom Quentin quarrels with two fallacies. The first is the consideration of what are really common alternatives as common errors, which is straightforward enough. The second, which requires more elucidating, is the confusion between the 'original', meaning the work of the author, and the 'archetype', meaning the common ancestor of the surviving manuscripts. The original is lost, the archetype can be and ought to be recovered. When the archetype has been reconstructed, the editor may permit his thoughts to turn to the original. Then, and not till then, internal criticism comes into play, and such factors as the Latin source of a French text, provided that it be the source and not a translation or retranslation. Here textual criticism begins to merge into literary criticism, and the fifteen rules for the criticism of variants quoted by Dom Quentin recall the remarks made by the President last term on the subject of sources.

The method described in the *Essais* deals only with the reconstruction of the archetype. It is logical, not mathematical, in principle. It consists first in making a careful collation of the manuscripts on rigidly consistent lines, and then making a list of the numbered variants with the signs of the manuscripts in which they occur. From this, tables are drawn up which record only concordances, discordances, and independent renderings by different signs. These are then cut up into columns which can be compared in any combination. Dom Quentin finds groups of three the most practical. By these means the manuscripts can be graded with absolute certainty according to their resemblance one to another, and the pitfall of attaching importance to the actual number of concordances between the manuscripts is avoided. There is also no possibility of the fatal error of thinking of the readings of the manuscript taken as basis for collation as anything but variants. This error, which sounds too absurd to be possible, is nevertheless, through a sort of ocular suggestion, a very real one in practice. Dom Quentin gives various illustrations of his method, and among them he selects a passage from the *Lai de l'ombre* and establishes a fresh classification, which results, by a curious coincidence, in frequently restoring M. Bédier's 1890 readings.

M. Bédier took up the gauntlet, but any one who expected a spectacular recantation or the exposition of some startling new method will have been sadly disappointed. Any one who delights in a piece of clear, witty criticism will have been correspondingly pleased. The article opens with a survey of the history of the case. A fresh attempt is made to classify the manuscripts by the Lachmann method. This time M. Bédier is more precise about the results. The manuscripts did indeed group themselves, but the relation of the groups to one another and to the archetype remains as misty as ever. This state of things he represents by perpendicular lines. There is no sure way of making these parallel lines converge. This has been noticed before. The most familiar example is Longnon's edition of Villon. In fairness to the old method M. Bédier recalls that the construction of genealogical trees corrects the tendency to consider mere numerical superiority. It is plain

at a glance that a branch is a branch, whether it consists of several manuscripts or of one.

Next, M. Bédier turns his attention to Dom Quentin's method. He acknowledges that it is more certain than the use of common errors as the guiding principle, but declares that it is only justifiable if it really does recapture the archetype, and this, he claims, it does not do. It means, in this case, rejecting any reading only supported by one manuscript, and there remains the question of the plurality of originals, of which M. Bédier now thinks there were three. M. Bédier introduces two imaginary manuscripts into the scheme of things and shows how the rigidity of the system instantly breaks down, and, as with the Lachmann method, there is a choice of explications. The position of one of the manuscripts, which Dom Quentin claimed to have established, loses its value as evidence in his favour, as his discovery only holds good for the fraction of the text which he examined. M. Bédier gives five instances where, by internal criticism, he proves that the rejected reading not only gives better sense than the supposed archetype, but is the sole intelligible one. Dom Quentin's distinction between original and archetype will not avail here, and to argue about common errors and less good readings would be simply to draw a red herring across the trail. But the point really is, not whether Dom Quentin is actually right or wrong, but if it is doubtful whether he is right. Unless his scheme can be proved to be right, it has the same value as any other, neither more nor less.

In his conclusion, M. Bédier maintains that Dom Quentin's method, sound as it is in many ways, has not yet reached perfection. Classification is only justifiable when it results in printing from one manuscript, not when it involves a composite text. The literary texts of the Middle Ages were not collated and compared after the manner of classical or biblical texts, and it is a mistake to argue from one category to the other. Dom Quentin claims that M. Bédier's way may be damaging to textual criticism; M. Bédier replies that hitherto it has proved least damaging to the texts. Comment is needless, or so it would seem. But this is really the key to the struggle. At

first sight M. Bédier seems to be running away from a difficulty, and it now remains to be proved whether he is running away from a real problem, or from a bogy created by systems which are ' no' sae deep as they're drumlie '. It also remains to be seen whether M. Bédier's way is really the easier path, especially when large numbers of manuscripts are involved. It must not be forgotten, too, that the employment of a system is not quite so much a matter of rule of thumb as may at first appear. One has first of all to face the riddle: ' When is a variant not a variant? ' especially in the case of Anglo-Norman texts with inconsistent spellings and unexpected forms. There is nothing more tiresome than a case where a number of what may be called ' indecisive common readings ' creates a superficial resemblance. Hence, at the very outset, the editor's discretion must come into play.

However, this is no place for arguing upon points of detail. The main question as it stands at the moment is a moral one. Have we, faced with M. Bédier's demonstration of the uncertainty of methods, the right to apply them? Should we not rather content ourselves with a text, corrupt perhaps, but genuine, instead of being the last, perhaps not the least clumsy, of a long line of well-meaning restorers? It is not over-easy to see why what is criminal in a thirteenth-century scribe is praiseworthy, even essential, in a twentieth-century editor. The editor writes an introduction to justify himself in much the same spirit as the scribe composed the pious rhymes which made known to the reader the infinite pains which he had taken over his work. Both may be misled into forgetting that the text's the thing.

It must not be imagined, however, that a diplomatic edition would as well serve as an edition on M. Bédier's lines. The editor must be more than a transcriber and recorder of variants, he has also to present the text in a readable form to the modern reader. Here, every editor will have his own views on punctuation, capitals, distinction between *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, and so on. Gaps damaging to the sense have to be filled up, obvious scribal blunders to be corrected. There is only one rule applicable to every case. The editor's methods must be clearly

stated in the introduction, and any deviation from the chosen manuscript must be recorded at the time.

For the rest, time must be the judge. It is no light thing to break away from a tradition which has held the field for some time, and to omit the apology which has hitherto been customary when a custom has been infringed. It causes a pang to jettison the comforting trees which seem the sure foundation for so many precarious edifices, but it must be done. And it must regretfully be admitted that the advent of a method which may safely be hailed as a panacea seems further off than ever. Meanwhile, the safest course seems to be to carry on after M. Bédier.

M. Dominica Legge.

On Textual Criticism, with Special Reference to Anglo-Norman

IN an article[1] published in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur,* Bd. XLVI, Heft 5 u. 6 (1922), pp. 281-302, Dr. W. Schulz undertook to justify Suchier's procedure in his critical edition of the *Chançun de Guillelme*[2] against the criticisms of Salverda de Grave[3] and Jean Acher,[4] and arrived at the conclusion that not only was Suchier's treatment of his text defensible, but an analogous reconstruction of the *Gui de Warwick* romance was possible. According to Dr. Schulz the text of the *Ch. de G.* and that of *G. de W.* suffered a radical and far-reaching revision at the hands of one and the same redactor. It is clear that in arriving at this conclusion he was influenced by the fact that the *Ch. de G.* and the earliest MS. of *G. de W.* (*E*) originally belonged to a volume containing ten articles, of which *G. de W.* and the *Ch. de G.* were the third and fourth respectively, and by the fact that they have been attributed to one and the same scribe.[5] It is true that the writing of the two MSS. is very similar, but it is by no means certain that they are by the same hand.[6] Further, MS. *E,* although the earliest extant MS., does not derive so directly from the original as Dr. Schulz supposes, and as his argument depends in the main on the classification

[1] Under the title: *Beiträge zur Entwickelung der Wilhelmslieder. VI. Zur Handschriftenfrage der Chançun de Guillelme und des Gui de Warwick.*

[2] *La Chançon de Guillelme, kritisch herausgegeben von Hermann Suchier* (Bibl. Norm. VIII), 1911.

[3] ' Observations sur le texte de la Chanson de Guillaume ' in *Neophilologus* I, 1916, pp. 1-18, 181-92.

[4] Review of Suchier's edition in *Revue des Langues Romanes,* liv, p. 336.

[5] *Cf.* J. A. Herbert, ' An Early MS. of Gui de Warwick ', in *Romania,* xxxv, p. 71.

[6] *Cf. Cat. of Additions to the MSS. of the Brit. Mus. in the years* 1911-15. London, 1925, p. 190.

of the *Gui* MSS., it will be necessary to re-examine the question in the light of the fresh evidence at our disposal.

The Anglo-Norman romance of *Gui de Warwick* is preserved in the following manuscripts :—

A. London, College of Arms, Arundel 27, f. 1-130; beginning of the fourteenth century. Complete.

C. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 50 art. 7, f. 103-181; latter half of the thirteenth century. Complete.

E. London, British Museum, Additional 38662, f. 1-80; second quarter of the thirteenth cent. Complete.

F. Cheltenham, Phillipps 8345, f. 134-209; end of the thirteenth cent. Complete. (In numbering the MS. a page has been missed between f. 147 and f. 148.)

G. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, God. Aug. 87, 4; f. 1-96; end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth cent. Imperfect.

H. London, British Museum, Harl. 3775, f. 15-26; end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth cent. Incomplete.

J. Cambridge, University Library, a single leaf (120 lines); fourteenth cent. Published by J. A. Herbert in *Romania,* xxxv, pp. 77-81.

M. Marske Hall, Yorkshire, library of Mr. d'Arcy Hutton, f. 1-44; latter half of the thirteenth cent. Imperfect.

O. Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. D. 913 art. 23, f. 86-89; beginning of the fourteenth cent. Fragments. See below, *f*.

P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 1669, f. 1-59; *circa* 1300. Complete.

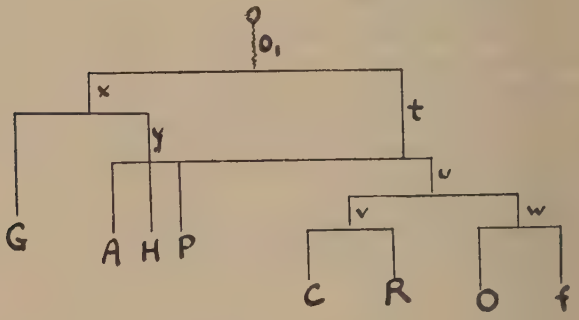
R. London, British Museum, Roy. 8 F. ix, art. 3, f. 105-159; beginning of the fourteenth cent. Incomplete.

Y. York, Chapter Library, 16. I. 7, four leaves bound in at back and front of a glossed Psalter of the thirteenth cent.; thirteenth cent.

(*f*. Dr. Winneberger denotes by this letter the fragments which were published by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare in the

British Bibliographer, iv, 1814, p. 268, and which form f. 88-89 of *O*.)

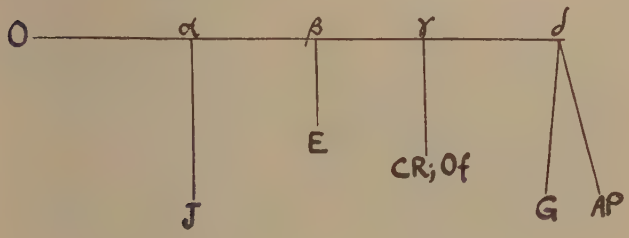
The first attempt at a classification of these MSS. was that of Dr. Winneberger,[7] who had at his disposal *GAPO(f)* and short excerpts from *CHR; FMJ* are discussed in an appendix, but it was impossible for Dr. Winneberger to do more than demonstrate that *J* did not belong to the group *GAP*. His conclusions are tabulated thus :



One cannot but admire the care and thoroughness with which Dr. Winneberger has handled his materials, but his results are to some extent vitiated by the unwarranted assumption that the original was composed in regular octosyllabic couplets, and it is significant that where he has been reduced to the metre as his sole criterion, his conclusions are invariably open to question, viz. for the group *CRO(f)* and the hypothetical stages between the extant MSS. and the original.

[7] O. Winneberger, *Über das Handschriftenverhältnis des Altfranzösischen Guy de Warwick,* Marburg, 1889; and *Eine Textprobe aus der altfrz. Überlieferung des G. von W.,* in *Frankfurter neuphilologische Beiträge,* 1887, p. 86. *Cf.* also M. Weyrauch, *Die mittelenglischen Fassungen der Sage von G. von W. und ihre frz. Vorlage,* Diss. Breslau, 1899, Heft II of E. Kölbing's *Forschungen zur engl. Spr. u. Lit.*; also printed separately.

The same assumption vitiates to some extent the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Schulz, which are tabulated thus (the Greek letters have been added by me):



Dr. Schulz's conclusions are based partly upon those of Dr. Winneberger, partly upon the collation of short passages from *GAPC* with *J* and the variants of *E*. Here again it is assumed that the original was composed in fairly correct octosyllabic couplets, though what is meant by 'fairly' is not explained.

An examination of all the extant MSS. has convinced me that the whole question is much more complicated than either of these scholars imagined, but with certain qualifications one may accept, for present purposes, Dr. Schulz's classification in so far as it affects *CAGPRO*. The following passage may help to clarify the position:

E. fol. 9*d*, *line* 19:

'Ahi ! chevalers vaillanz !
Tant fustes preuz e conbatanz !
Pur m'amur estes tuz morz;
Tant mar veistes unc mun cors !
Coment devum de vus departir?
Pur quei ne puis od vus morir?
Maldit seient les Lumbarz,
Tant erent malveis e couarz !
Pur quei sui si sul remis,
Quant od vus ne me urent oscis !
Ahi ! Heralt, bel compaignun !

C. fol. 111*b*, *line* 30:

Ai ! chevalers vaillanz !
Tant fustes pruz e conbatanz !
Pur m'amur estes tuz mortz;
Tant mar veistes unc mon cors !
Las ! tant fu dure ma destinee,
Kant a Felice fud enveié !
Felice, pur la vostre amur
De chivalerie vi perir la flur !
Quant femme estes, a tort m'en plein :
Ne fu le premer ne le derain
111*c* Ke femme ad deceu e suspris;

Tant par fûstes noble barun!
Qui me aidera mes en estur?
Par vus ai eu mult grant honur;
Rendu vus ai mal gueredun,
Fait ne vus ai si mal nun;
Par mei as perdue la vie,
Par vus n'avrai mes aie!
Ahi! sire coens Rualt!
Vostre conseil mult par valt;
Se jo eusse od vus sejurné
E en tens eusse mer passé,
Ne me fust avenu tel damage
Que ore ai receu en cest boscage!'
Que de duel qu'il ad eu
De ses compaignuns qu'il ad perdu
E de la plaie qui ad seigné
A la terre chet pasmé.

Principal varr. of EFHMY:
4 *Y follows E, but adds at the foot of the column (f. 1 e) lines 5-12 of the text of C. These lines are in a smaller script, which seems to be contemporary, though perhaps not by the same scribe, and a conventional sign in the margin indicates that they are to be inserted between lines* 4 *and* 5. 5 devum] *F* dei, *M* dei io, *the scribe of Y wrote* deuū, *which has been expuncted and* dei ie *written above the line.* 9 *and* 10 *interchanged in F.* 9 *M* su ci, *F* sui, *Y* su ieo. 12 par] *Y omits.* 14 mult] *M omits.* 15 *FHMY* guerdun. 18 *not in H; F* nauerai io mes. 20 m. par] *FM* tant m., *H* tant mo. 22 E] *FM omit.* 26 De ses] *Y* Des. 28 c.] *F* vus c., *Y* gist.

Par moi li autre seient garni!
Ahi! Heraud, beau compaignun!
Tant par fustes noble baron!
Ki me aidera mes en estur?
Par vus ai eu mult grant honur;
Rendu vus ai mal geredoun,
Fait ne vuus ai si mal nun;
Par moi as perdu la vie,
Par vus ne averai james aie!
Coment doi jeo de vus partir?
Pur quei ne puis od vuus morir?
Maudiz seient les Lumbardz,
Tant erent mauveis e coward!
Pur quei me ont il scul remis,
Ke od vus ne me eurent occis!
Ahi! sire coens Roaud!
Le vostre conseil tant vaut;
Si jeo eusse od vuus sojurné.
E en tens fusse la mier passé,
Ne me fust avenu tel damage
Com ore ai receu en cest boscage!
Ki ne vult oir sun piere
E despit la preiere sa miere,
Mal li avendra sanz delai,
Kar esprové ja bien le ai.'
Puis del duel qu'il ad eu
De ses compaignuns ke ad perdu
E de sa plaie ke ad seingné
A la terre chet pausmé.

G (9 *d* 11) *gives a corrupt version of C, and omits lines* 3, 4, 14, 18, *and introduces* 17 *between* 13 *and* 15. *A* (20 *b* 23) *and P* (8 *b* 25) *reproduce with many common mistakes and corruptions the version of C.*
Varr. of GAPY for lines 5-12:
5 *G* Allas t. mar feu destine; *APY* Alas; *PA* est. 6 *APY* fu, *G* feu. 8 vi p.] *AP* huy prist, *G* perd ieo, *Y* perist. 9 *G* Mes q. f. es; m'en] *APG* me, *Y omits.* 10 fu le] *AP* su ieo, *G* sui, *Y* su le; *G* ne ne serrai, *PA* ne ert le (*A* la), *Y* ne er le; *APY* dreyn. 12 *PAY* les autres, *G* autres; *PAY* serrunt; *PAY* garnys.

The remaining MSS., which are fragmentary, do not contain this portion of the romance. It will be seen that the order of the lines in *EFHMY* is more natural and logical; the two short passages added in *C* present a development of a type not found elsewhere in the poem, and are an interpolation attributable to γ. The grouping *EFHMY*)(γ is assured by a large number of instances, but it is not always possible to establish a priority of claim for one or the other. It is, however, clear that *EFHMY* go back to a common source (β_1) which had introduced certain minor alterations and a number of faulty readings. Of the latter I would cite the following as a typical instance:

[Gui has crossed to Normandy and has distinguished himself in his first tournament; a messenger has brought him the prize and departs:

E. fol. 7 *a*, 1-2:

Li vaslet s'en va, Gui remaint,
Ki mult ad recoilli grant espleit

FHY follow E; but Y omits Ki; *M gives the second line thus*:

Ke mut en ad fet grant espleit.

C. fol. 108 *c*; 27-28:

Le vadlet s'en va, Gui remaint,
Qui de pris conquere rien ne se feint

AP follow C but substitute e il *for* Gui.

G. fol. 4 *d*, 21-22:

Le vallet vait ét Gy remaint
Qui senioist et nient ne pleint

β_1 has created a faulty line, probably in an attempt to avoid the expression *se feint*. The following passage might be adduced in support of this explanation:

E. fol. 5 *d*, 31-38:

Gui par matin est levé,
Enz el chemin est entré,
E ensement ses compaignuns
Qui preuz sunt e bons baruns;
D'erer mes ne finerunt,
Al turneiement si vendrunt.
Al turneiement est Gui venuz,

C. fol. 107 *c*, 15-22:

Gui par matin est levé,
Einz el chemin est entré,
Ses compaingnuns od li s'en vunt,
Ki barons pruz e hardiz sunt;
Del errer ne se voillent feindre.
Ke al torneement pussent atteindre.
Tant ont erré ke il i sunt venu,

8 De meint lui ad chevalers veuz.

8 Chivalers de maint lui i ont veu.

Y does not contain this passage. 3 *FM omit* E. 4 *FHM omit* bons. 8 *FHM* C. de m. liu ad veu.

7 *PA* ke sunt. 8 *PA* Meynt c. armes unt.

G. fol. 3a, 17-24:
Par matin sunt il levez
E en lur chemin sunt entrez,
Gy et ses compaignons,
Qui mult esteient nobles barons;
De errer mes ne finerent,
Desque al turneiment venuz erent,
E meint chevaler i ont veu,
Quant a la place sunt venu.

I would call attention particularly to the affinity between G and β_2. Other similar instances make it clear that the author of the second version (δ) while following in the main γ also had access to β_2 or some derivative of β_2 other than *E* or *F*. The following passage will illustrate this, and will serve as evidence of a common source for *EF*.

[Gui, about to set out for Normandy, is entrusted by his father Sequart to the custody of Heralt, who is to be accompanied by Thorout and Urri:

E. fol. 5 *c,* 1-4.
E a vus Thorout e vus Urri,
En vus durement m'afi,
Ensemble od Heralt vus en irrez,
Le cors mun fiz ben garderez.

C. fol. 107 *a,* 29-32.
E a vus Thorold e a vus Urri,
En vus treis mult me affi,
Ensemble od mun fiz en irrez,
E son cors bien garderez.

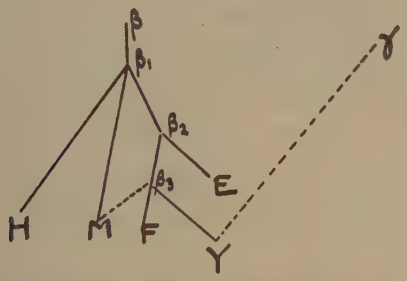
Varr. of FG:
1 *G omits* a; e] *F* e a.
2 *F* Ke en. 3 *G omits* en.
4 *G omits* ben.

Varr. of HMAP:
3 *P* E o mun fiz irret, *A*?; en] *M* vus en. 4 ben] *P* ben me, *H* mo bien; *M* gardez.

β_2 has introduced numerous minor alterations, and at one point has added a passage of eight lines, which *E* (fol. 59 a, 9-16) and *F* (fol. 188 d, 35-42) alone give ,and at another point two lines (*E*, fol. 60 b, 29-30) (*F*, fol. 190 b, 2-3).

F presents in its turn a number of alterations and additions which cannot all be attributed to the scribe, and which presuppose an intermediate source. *H* is derived independently from β_1, and this is true in the main of *M* also, but slight affinities between *F* and *M* are observable even in the earlier

part of the romance, and they become particularly pronounced from line 6601 onwards, the latter part of the romance presenting an oscillation between the grouping *EF*)(*MC* and *EC*) (*FM*. *Y* is derived from β_3, but contains a large number of corrections which have been introduced on the basis of a MS. belonging to the γ group. Thus in the first passage quoted above, *Y* maintains the order of the lines as given in its immediate source, but has added the first of the interpolations in γ at the foot of the column. The following diagram sums up my conclusions with regard to the MSS. *EFHMY*:



For further evidence I am constrained to refer the reader to my edition of *Gui de Warewic,* which is due to appear shortly. It is sufficient for my present purpose to have shown (1) that the presence of *E* and the *Ch. de G.* in the same volume has no special significance, even if we were to admit that they are by the same scribe; (2) that the relation between the MSS. is such as to demand the greatest circumspection in any attempt at a reconstruction of the original.

There remains the question of the relation of *J* to the other MSS. According to Dr. Schulz it is derived from a somewhat defective MS. (α) which reproduced the poem as it existed before being subjected to the radical revision assumed by him. This conclusion is based upon (1) the metre, (2) the dilution and elaboration of the text which β appears to present when compared with *J*. But is it possible to define the metre of the original with that accuracy and certainty which alone would justify us in using it as a criterion? In the present

state of our knowledge the answer must assuredly be in the negative, and whatever view of Anglo-Norman versification we adopt, it is quite clear that many Anglo-Norman poems are composed in a metre which from the syllabic point of view follows no fixed laws. The evidence furnished by our text merely goes to confirm the conclusion arrived at by Professor Vising,[8] viz. that in some Anglo-Norman poems of the twelfth century and in many of the thirteenth century 'the decline of versification was continued to such a point that a poet was often satisfied if he wrote lines of approximately the same length'. It is inevitable under such conditions that very great personal and perhaps regional differences must have existed, and that of two contemporary authors one might write fairly correct octosyllabic couplets while the other wrote lines of a varying number of syllables. Thus it may easily happen that relative correctness from the syllabic point of view is no clue to chronology, and that the scribe may have a better metrical sense than the poet whose work he is transcribing; and this one is often tempted to say of the scribe of *E*.

With regard to the second argument, it is inspired to some extent by the assumption that the more elaborate and diffuse account is necessarily a later version of the succinct account. Our romance does undoubtedly contain a great deal of repetition, over-elaboration, and redundant detail, which, while it commended itself to some, found its critics even in the thirteenth century, as witness the redactor of the second version, who exclaims at repeated intervals *'A quey feraye long conte!'* (G. 34 a, 11; P. 25 a, 14; G. 38 a, 1; P. 27 a, 4, etc.), and proceeds to strip the text of what he considers superfluous. To give but a few examples of his method of procedure :—

[Gui's host, speaking of the tournament proclaimed by the Emperor's daughter, says :

E. fol. 5*c*, 29-36 :
N'ad chevaler en tot Espaine,
Ne desk'a la mer de Bretaine,
Qui d'armes seit rien preisé
Que iloeques ne se seit bien esprové;

G. fol. 2 *c*, 23-*fol.* 2 *d*, 4 :
Car n'i ad chevaler en Espaigne,
Jeoques la mer de Bretaigne,
Qui de armes soit prisé
Qui ne soit ileoc esprové;

[8] J. Vising, *Sur la Versification Anglo-normande*, Upsala, 1884, and *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, Oxford, 1923, p 79.

N'iert chevaler qui ait amie,
Qui la ne face chevalerie;
Sa bunté i purra mustrer
E sun pris mult eshalcer.

Sa bonté i purra mustrer
Et son pris mult enhaucer.

Varr. of C. (*fol.* 107 *b*, 17-24):
1 Ni ad; tote. 2 de en. 3 Ki s. des a. riens p. 4 ilec ne seit.

[Two messengers bring the news of Gui's triumph to Rualt, count of Warwick:

E. fol. 7 *a*, 15-26:
Les levres qui funt a preiser,
Cum il les gaigna li unt cunté,
E cum il en la terre est preisé,
E cum la fille al empereur
Enveié l'aveit al estur,
U tuit erent assemblez
Qui d'armes esteient preisez;
Cil qui de tuz le priz aveit,
Icest present aver devreit
E l'amur de la damaisele
Qui tant par est gente e bele.
Quant li coens içe oi,
Mult durement s'en esjoi,
De Gui qui tant est preissez.

G. fol. 5 *a*, 10-17:
Les leverers que urent al procher,
Unt al quens presenté,
Cum Gy les gaigna li ont conté,
Et cum il est ileoc prisez
Pur sa chivalerie et alosez,
Et cum la fille al emperour
Li avoit granté sa amur.

Quant li quens iceo oi,
Mult durement s'esjoi,
De Gy qui tant est prisé.

Varr. of C. (*fol.* 108 *c*, 40):
1 sunt. 3 *omits* il. 5 li aueit en le.
7 des armes. 8 E cil; auereit.
9 deueit. 13 *and* 14 *are interverted in C;*
13: se est engoiez; 14: t. prise estoit.

[Rualt seeks to dissuade Gui from undertaking a second expedition abroad:

E. fol 7*d*, 35-8 *a*, 6:
Dirrez mei si rens vus falt,
Or u argent u bons chevals,
Dras de seie u riches blialz.
Pur quei passerez la mer?
Sire Gui, lessez ço ester!
Dunt n'ai jo chiens e oisels,
Chaşçurs coranz e chevals bels?
Quant vus plarra irrums chascier
A cras cerfs e a sengler;
Od noz girfalcs, od noz falcuns
Jirrums as grues e as hairuns.

G. fol. 6 *c*, 9-14:
Dites moi si rien vus faut,
Or ou argent ou destrer.
Pur quei paserez la mer?
Sire Gui, lessez ester!
Dunt n'ai jeo bestes a berser?

Et quant vus plest iroms chacer;

12 Ici purruns nus enveiser;
Içọ vus voil jo, sire Gui, loer.
En tens passer tres bien purrez,
Asez plus en eise serrez.

Si vus en pri, beaus sire cher [9]
Assez par tens paser poez,
Vus n'avez que un moys sojurnez.

Varr. of C (*fol.* 109 *c*, 10-24):
4 passeriez. 5 l. ço] iceo l.
7 e beaus cheuals. 9 A grant cerf u al s.
11 Irrom. 12 Issi pur nus. 13 *omits* vus *and* jo.

The first redaction (β) may thus appear as an elaboration of the second (δ), but no one will pretend that *G* represents anything but a late and inferior redaction. May not *J* have undertaken, possibly with more discretion and consistency, a similar pruning operation? But even if we admit that *J* reproduces an earlier and less prolix version—and we would be the first to admit that Dr. Schulz presents the case for this with great skill and no little persuasiveness—the postulation of still further intermediate stages between α and the original is quite hypothetical. According to Dr. Schulz's calculation, 46 per cent. of the lines in *J* are incorrect, of which 14 per cent. are to be charged to *J* and 32 per cent. to α, and he adds: 'Das ist gewisz zu viel für den Dichter allein.' But why? The comparison of parallel passages can furnish no reliable evidence if the poet was content to write lines of *approximately* eight syllables, and the available data indicate that he was. In any case, it seems to us hardly justifiable to assert that the poet wrote in fairly correct octosyllabics and then to use this debatable assertion as one of the arguments for assigning the original to the latter half of the twelfth century: 'Er (der Dichter) gehört noch in die Frühzeit agln. Dichtung, ehe das Gefühl für den regelmäszigen französischen Vers ganz verloren ging, und als neben den Reimen *ie: e* (<*ei, ée,* lat. *a*) noch solche auf *ie: ie, ei: ei* möglich waren, also schrieb er nach 1150 oder genauer im letzten Drittel des 12. Jhs.' It is to be assumed that the latter part of this sentence contains some misprint. In any event, the examination of the whole romance

[9] G gives three consecutive couplets with the same rime, a phenomenon which occurs very frequently in our romance.

enables us to give a more complete list of characteristic rimes as follows (references are to folios and lines of *E*):

(1) *u* (<ū) : *u* (<ǫ)—*perdu : neveu* 18 a 21, *venuz : angoissus* 15 d 5, *escume : prodome* 23 a 23, etc.

(2) ǫ free : ǫ blocked—*seignur : tur* 12 c 27, *onur : jur* 1 b 9, etc.

(3) *-aine : -eine—semaine : demeine* 3 d 25, *seines : veines* 31 c 29, etc.

(4) *l' : l—conseil : feeil* 11 *d* 11, etc.

(5) *ei : e—arveire : guere* 45 b 11, *poeir : chevaleir* 1 a 29, etc.

(6) *ui : i—nuit : delit* 47 d 17, *detruit : dit* 78 b 25, etc.

(7) *ai : ei—repaire : eire* (iter) 26 a 23, *vait : espleit* 37 c 7, *afaire : aire* (iter) 45 b 9, etc.

(8) loss of post-tonic *e—mulu* (*f.*) : *escu* 73 d 9, *marbrin* (*f.*) : *pelerin* 64 c 39, *maur* (=majeure) : *honur* 52 d 7, *acereez : gemmez* 63 b 35, etc.

1 to 4 are found as early as the *Brendan*.[10] 5 to 8 are found in Anglo-Norman texts of the second half of the twelfth century,[11] but such rimes as those cited under 7 and 8 are rare before 1200, and the evidence for 8 is doubtful.[12] The frequent occurrence of these rimes in our text points to the first half of the thirteenth century as a more probable date, by which time the versification had degenerated to the point of permitting the irregularity our poem presents. There is in fact nothing in the language and the versification against the date which on other grounds we are inclined to put forward, that is to say, *ca.* 1230-1240.

But even if we accept Dr. Schulz's premisses, the preparation of a critical text on the lines he suggests would be a most hazardous undertaking. Thus, if the earliest and best

[10] E. G. R. Waters, *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, Oxford, 1928, pp. cxlix, cxl, cliv; Vising, *Etude sur le dialecte anglo-normand*, Upsala, 1882, pp. 71-73, 75, 77.

[11] Vising, *Etude*, pp. 70, 75, 81, 84, 95, and *A.-N. Lang. and Lit.*, p. 29.

[12] A. Stimming, *Der anglo-normannische Boeve de Haumtone*, Halle, 1899, pp. l-li, lviii, 181-4; L. E. Menger, *The A.-N. Dialect*, New York, 1904, p. 50; Vising, *Versification*, p. 65.

MS. (*E*) be selected as a basis, it is possible to reconstruct β_2 with tolerable certainty for the first 3,000 lines with *H* as a check, but beyond that point what is one to make of the oscillation between the grouping *EF*)(*MC* and *EC*)(*FM*—to say nothing of the affinity *G* shows at numerous points with *EF*? Still more problematical is the reconstruction of β_1, and even if this were possible, which course is to be adopted in the countless instances where β_1 and γ give renderings which, while divergent, are perfectly satisfactory in every way. except that now one now the other is metrically irregular if judged by Continental French standards? Is the editor to accept now one now the other in order to reduce the poem to regularity? And when he has reconstructed β, will he be intrepid enough to undertake the recasting of the 13,000 lines of β on the basis of the evidence furnished by the 120 lines of *J*, a fourteenth-century fragment, the relation of which to the remaining MSS. is far from certain? How will he treat cases like line 9 (*E*1 a 9) *Qui devant nus esteient,* and line 21 (*E*1 a 21) *E de un sun seneschal,* where *EFHMCGAP* agree in giving a line of six syllables (*JORY* not giving this portion of the text)? And above all, where will he stop in his pruning operations? Before he embarks upon such an undertaking we would submit the following points for his consideration :—

(1) The filiation of the MSS. is far from certain and is demonstrably interrupted by various cross-currents.[13]

(2) There is no evidence that the poem was composed in regular octosyllabics.

(3) The linguistic evidence points to the first half of the thirteenth century, i.e. a time when it was common for Anglo-Norman poets to compose their works in lines of irregular length.[14]

[13] e.g. *AP* give the first redaction for the first 4,807 lines, after which they give the second, but *P* abandons the latter for the former from fol. 37 a 1 to fol. 38 c 38. *R* follows in the main the first redaction, but gives the same corrupt version as *G* over a considerable portion of the text (*R* 111 b-114 c, *G* 17 d-24 a). *O* presents similar problems. *FMY* have been discussed above.

[14] Vising, *Etude*, pp. 63-66, and *Versification*, pp. 25-28 *et passim*, and *A.-N. Lang. and Lit.*, p. 79; P. Meyer in *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes*, 1882, p. 61, and in *Fragments d'une Vie de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry* (Soc. des. Anc. Textes), 1885, p. xxxv.

(4) Dilution of the narrative, repetition, the stressing of the obvious, are in the very nature of our romance, and the so-called elaborations can reasonably be attributed to the poet.

With these considerations in mind one is tempted to reconcile oneself to the reproduction of the best MS. as it stands, but this would mean presenting to the reader a text disfigured by obvious scribal blunders, omissions, and unintelligible readings. We submit that with a text of this kind the reasonable and sound solution is (*a*) to reproduce the best MS. with a minimum number of corrections inspired by a close study of the habits of the scribe and by a desire to make good the most glaring mutilations he has inflicted upon his text, (*b*) to afford the reader the opportunity of checking with the least possible trouble all the corrections introduced.

The role of the editor would thus be much restricted and may appear a very modest one. But self-effacement is in such a case a positive virtue. The editing of a text on these lines, while a less exhilarating exercise, is more likely to give permanent satisfaction, in the shape of a text the value of which will not decline with each new addition to our imperfect knowledge of the form in which it was composed and the circumstances in which it was transcribed.

A. Ewert.

Arthurian Romance and *Flamenca*

(Read before the Society on 19th June, 1930.)

IF, among the studies with which this Society is concerned, research into the sources, and elucidation of the text, of the Arthurian romances hold pride of place, yet, on the other hand, the influence which this literature has itself exerted, and the traces of it more subtly to be found, in contemporary or later works, are alike worthy of our attention. The thirteenth-century *Roman de Flamenca* shows very strong evidences of the importance of Arthurian legend and romance to a Provençal writer; and this is the more significant, in that Southern France had, at least until the close of the twelfth century, a highly individual and extremely rich literature of its own.

On the title-page of Paul Meyer's two editions (1865 and 1901) we read 'Le Roman de Flamenca'—a title given by Raynouard to the work contained in the defective Carcassonne manuscript—but the poem we are to consider is not a 'roman' as we understand the term. It is a 'nova': a genre of which we have very few examples—six at the outside, of which three by Raimon Vidal—of this dimension; and all are of the thirteenth century. The 'nova' is a story, in octosyllabic couplets, of contemporary life and manners: of an actuality which, for all their courtly rationalization, we should seek in vain in the works of Chrétien de Troyes. *Flamenca* is the product of a period of decadence: the contemporary novel, in its self-consciousness, betrays a lack of the vitality that illumines the poetical romances of the early Arthurian cycle with a gleam of mystery and wonder. We know, in fact, that the courts of Southern France, in the course of the unification pursued by the French crown, had by the close of

the twelfth century lost their independence, in very large measure; we know of the crusade against the Albigenses, with its grievous results; the poet of *Flamenca* repeatedly complains that 'courts are not what they once were'. But even without these indications, the dry, hard brilliance of the description of contemporary manners; the precision, divorced from delicacy, of the intrigue; and, except for the anguished Archimbaut, the perfunctoriness of the characters, are evidence enough that 'there has passed away a glory from the earth'.

The story, which has been identified as happening from 1234–5 onwards (the date of the work, except for this indication as a *terminus a quo,* is not known), is as follows. The count Gui de Nemours has affianced his daughter Flamenca to Lord Archimbaut of L'Archimbault-Bourbon: the marriage is celebrated at Nemours with much magnificence, and the bridegroom returns to his own town—a rich spa, as it still is—to prepare festivities that shall eclipse all that has hitherto been done on his marriage. He sends out his invitations—to the king and lords of Franza (=North France), be it noted, as well as to the lords of the south—and as a special favour begs the King of France to escort Flamenca from her parents' home to her husband's. The festivities take place, with every conceivable splendour—the description of which is significant and will occupy us later—but at a joust, held on the evening of midsummer-day, the king, who has shown especial courtesy to Flamenca, bears the sleeve of some lady, unknown, at the head of his lance; and the queen spitefully insinuates to Lord Archimbaut that it is Flamenca's sleeve, given to the king as a 'senhals de drudaria'. The insinuation bears fruit: Archimbault holds out till his guests are gone, then turns on his wife with furious reproaches. He incarcerates her, with two demoiselles, Alis and Margarida; for two years, except for visits to the baths, closely attended by Archimbaut, and to church, on Sundays and feast days, veiled and as jealously escorted, Flamenca does not leave her tower. Archimbaut has become lost to the world of courtesy and rank: foul in his person and enraged in his mind.

Then there came a knight out of Burgundy—Guillem de Nevers, the model of knightly perfection, a fair clerk withal, and rich in largesse to troubadours—who heard by common report of the fate of Flamenca, and forthwith set out: not to deliver her, as a knight of the 'romans' would have done, but to win her love. He repairs to Bourbon, takes a lodging with En Peire Gui, proprietor of the baths to which Flamenca was accustomed to go: he sees her at church. He pays his host and hostess so liberally that they abandon their whole house to him: he has masons to effect a passage to the bath frequented by Flamenca. For himself, he becomes clerk to the chaplain, Justin, giving Nicholas the clerk, whose place he takes, the means to study at Paris. Thus he himself will give the 'pax' to Flamenca each Sunday at mass. He so contrived that on alternate Sundays he should speak to her, and she to him, in a low voice unheard even of Archimbaut. On the first Sunday he says: 'Hai las!' Flamenca, after taking counsel with her maids, replies, on the following Sunday: 'Que plains?' Answer and question follow in succeeding weeks: 'Mor mi'—'De que?'—'D'amor'—'Per cui?'—'Per vos'—'Que'en puesc?'—'Garir'—'Consi?'—'Per gein'; 'Pren li'—'Pres l'ai'—'E qual?'—'Iretz'—'Es ou?'—'Als banz'—'Cora?'—'jorn breu et gent'—'Plas mi.'

The later questions and answers are hurried up a little by the occurrence of a great many feasts in the calendar. Still, it took three months. From this time Flamenca needed no wooing: the meetings took place in the baths as arranged—and simultaneously our interest flags, where Flamenca is concerned. Archimbaut, however, perceiving that his wife takes no further heed of him, provokes her to expostulate with him on his barbarity. She swears to be true to him henceforward; he takes her word and resumes his knightly behaviour. Set at liberty, Flamenca tells Guillem that he need conceal himself no longer. He repairs to Flanders, where he distinguishes himself in fighting and tourneys. Archimbaut hears of Guillem's renown, and holds a tourney at Bourbon, to which Guillem is invited; he distinguishes himself only less than

Guillem, who takes full advantage of his meeting with the now liberated Flamenca. Then the manuscript, which is defective at beginning and end, abruptly closes.

What connexion can the romances of the Round Table have with such a story as this? At first sight, taking it largely, the inspiration is quite other. But direct references to the romances of the Breton cycle abound; there are details, too, which echo a common inspiration in more than one particular. Through these details, and these references, if at all, we may hope to trace a general influence upon the whole work.

The author, whose name we may with some reservations take to be Bernardet or Bernard (ll. 1732-3), was evidently a man of considerable learning. References to Ovid, Horace, and Boethius—paraphrases even—abound in the work. Controversy as to Chrétien's Ovidian studies allows us yet to think that these were the source of much of his ' sen ', if not of his ' matière ' : in *Flamenca* (e.g. ll. 3045-52), in speaking of the pain of love, Bernardet says :

> Car si res i pogues valer
> Phebus o degra ben saber,
> Que fon megas meravillos
> E totz le prumers ques anc fos;
> De las artz dis, per mal d'amor,
> A totz valon mas al seinor,
> En aquest mot ben confesset
> Ques anc mecina non trobet
> Que contr'amor valer pogues.

The allusion is clearly to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I : Apollo, despairing of the conquest of Daphne, enumerates his powers, but adds :

> Hei mihi ! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
> Nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes !
> (ll. 523-4.)

Still, these classical writers were the stock-in-trade of all medieval writers, and we need closer evidence than this of the relationship of *Flamenca* and the Arthurian romances.

In the description of the festivities held at Bourbon, after the marriage of Flamenca and Archimbaut, there occurs a

notable description, made the more impressive, no doubt, by Bernardet's professional pride, of the activities of the 'jongleurs' in all capacities. He enumerates the authors whose works they recite: the remarkable thing is that of all these only one, Marcabrun, wrote in the *langue d'oc*. All the rest are writers of North France. There are the romances of antiquity, *Troie, Eneas, Thebes, Piramus et Thisbe, Alexander*; there is also Apollonius of Tyre; but for our purposes the following enumeration is of supreme value:—

L'us diz de la Taula Redonda,
Que no i venc homs que noil responda
Le reis segon sa conoissensa;
Anc nuil jorn no i failli valensa;
L'autre comtava de Galvain
E del leo que fon compain
Del cavallier qu'estors Luneta;
L'us diz de la piucella breta
Con tenc Lancelot en preiso
Cant de s'amor li dis de no;
L'autre comtet de Persaval
Co venc a la cort a caval;
L'us comtet d'Erec e d'Enida,
L'autre d'Ugonet de Perida;
L'us comtava de Governail
Com per Tristan ac grieu trebail
L'autre comtava de Feniza
Con transir la fes sa noirissa;
L'us dis del Bel Desconogut
E l'autre del vermeil escut
Que l'yras trobet a l'uisset;
L'us comtet de Calobrenan,
L'autre dis con retenc un an
Dins sa preison Quec senescal
Lo Deliez car li dis mal,
L'autre comtava de Mordret.
L'us retrais lo comte d'Ivet
Con fo per los Ventres faiditz
E per Rei Pescador grazitz. (ll. 661-90.)

Not all these allusions have been worked out: but we have, at all events, references ou *Yvain, Lancelot, Cligès, Perceval,* and the Tristan legend. A little earlier is an interesting reference to the shorter lyric poetry:

> Qui saup novella violadura,
> Nil canzo ni descort ni lais,
> Al plus que poc avan si trais.
> L'uns viola[1] lais de Cabrefoil,
> E l'autre cel de Tintagoil;
> L'us cantet cel des Fins Amanz,
> E l'autre cel que fes Ivans. (ll. 596-602.)

Paul Meyer issues a *caveat* against a too ready association of these references with the 'Lais' of Marie de France—by 'lai' here, he says, is meant the music to which the words (of lesser importance) were fitted.

We are on surer ground when, with Paul Meyer, we see in the lines immediately following (ll. 603-16) an echo of *Erec* (ll. 2035-46). Let us observe that, in each, the occasion is a marriage-feast.

Flamenca (603-16).	*Erec* (2035-46).
L'us mena arpa, l'autre viula,	Quant la corz fu tote assamblee,
L'us flaütella, l'autre siula;	N'ot menestral an la contree,
L'us mena giga, l'autre rota;	Qui rien seüst de nul deduit,
L'us diz los motz e l'autrels nota;	Que a la cort ne fussent tuit,
L'us estiva, l'autre flestella;	Au la sale mout grant joie ot,
L'us musa, l'autre caramella;	Chascuns servi de ce qu'il sot:
L'us mandura e l'autre acorda	Cil saut, cil tume, cil anchante,
Lo sauteri ab manicorda;	Li uns conte, li autre chante,
L'us fai lo juec des bavastelz,	Li uns sifle, li autre note,
L'autre jugava de coutelz;	Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,
L'us vai per sol et l'autre tomba,	

L'autre balet ab sa retomba;
L'us passet cercle, l'autre sail;
Neguns a son mestier non fail.
Cil de gigue, cil de viële,
Cil flaüte, cil chalemele.

When we are told (ll. 1688-9) of Guillem winning horses at tourneys, Paul Meyer points to a parallel in *Erec* also:

Flamenca (1688-9).
Cavalliers pren, cavals gazaina,
E tot o gasta e o dona.

Erec (ll. 2215-16).
Erec ne voloit pas antandre,
A chevals n'a chevaliers prandre.

In *Cligès* (ll. 2809-2890) we are given a pretty picture of the ladies watching the joust at Cologne, which seems to be copied in *Flamenca* (ll. 778-92):

Cligès.
Por behorder es chevaus montent,
D'andeus parz a trois çanz se content,
Si furent par igal de nonbre.
Toz li palés vuide et desconbre,
Que n'i remest ne cil ne cele,
Ne chevaliers ne dameisele,
Que tuit n'aillent monter es estres,
As batailles et as fenestres,
Por veoir et por esgarder
Caus qui devoient behorder.

Flamenca, ll. 778-92.
Escudier plus de. xxx. viii,
Agron jals cavals esselatz
E cubertz et antresenhatz
De senhals e de cascavels.
Ja fo en la cort le cembelz;
La dansa part, mais no er vista
Tam bella, e cascuns atista
Son escudier que l'aport tost
Sas armas, e ges a rescost
Non si son les donas partidas.
Gaias et pros es eissernidas
Eran totas, e van sezer
Als fenestrals per miels vezer
Los cavalliers ques armas porton,
Que per lur amor si deporton.

These references, and these parallels, would lead us to suppose that Bernardet at least knew his Chrétien de Troyes, though reference to works not read is not unknown as a literary

proceeding. Can we see any sign of the influence of Arthurian romance in the essence of this story?

The situation—the jealous husband, the lady, and her lover —is not uncommon; to cite no others, we have the Tristan legend. But there is no admirer of Béroul and Thomas who would not be shocked at comparing their romances with the intrigue of *Flamenca;* Lancelot, Guinevere, and Arthur also move on a much higher plane. Certainly, for all the ruses of Iseult and her lover, we have nothing like the stratagem of Guillem in Arthurian romance. In this we must give Bernardet credit for originality—and, again, it is original that the character, of the three members of the triangle, which receives the most care is that of the jealous husband, not of the lovers. The entire balance of the story is different from that of the romances of North France which treat of this theme.

An interesting question here arises, which might be put to some use by students of Chrétien de Troyes. Practically every reference in *Flamenca* to Arthurian literature is clearly to Chrétien de Troyes. The references to Lancelot and to Tristan alone admit of doubt—Bernardet could have read the Prose *Lancelot,* and his careful description of the jealous husband might encourage us to think that he used the Prose *Tristan.* But, as we know, in *Cligès* (l. 5) Chrétien refers to himself as having made a romance

Del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde.

Controversy has raged over what kind of Tristan story this may be. Let us suppose that Bernardet used Chrétien's *Tristan,* and we may suggest that Chrétien (who here names only two of the three actors) in his version gave that prominence to the emotions of the jealous husband that we find in *Flamenca.* All this is hypothetical, but we have Chrétien's word that he wrote a *Tristan*; and if he gave it this bias it might account also for the bias (as concerns the character-interest) of *Flamenca.*

The development of character, and the portrayal of emotion, in *Flamenca* follow the lines of Chrétien's treatment, but with something superadded. We have all the elaborate analy-

sis, and we have also the extraordinary richness of personification of abstract attributes which was later to become so tedious in Northern French literature and which, in its second part especially, is the peculiar constituent of the *Roman de la Rose*. Of the baser emotions, and lesser qualities, we may compare, and at the same time contrast, the dialogue between Avolesa (Low Worth) and Cobezesal (Envy) in *Flamenca* (ll. 753–77) with the description of Largesce in *Cligès* (ll. 196–216). It is significant that Chrétien extols the nobler quality, while Bernardet gives an uncommented description of the baser. But, as is fitting, it is in the description of Love that these authors excel, each in his several way. Guillem, like Cligès, when we meet him, has all the noble qualities, save a knowledge of love. And in *Flamenca*, even more than in the works of Chrétien, love the emotion is differentiated from Love, Amors, the personification of the emotion, who is sovereign lady, not the capricious child of classical fancy. The first passion of Soredamors for Alixandre is described in words not very different from those which tell of the love of Archimbaut for Flamenca: and in passing let it be noted that only in the jealous husband, Archimbaut, do we find a genuine passion that is worthy of comparison with the real, if conscious, emotions of the lovers in the works of Chrétien de Troyes. Of love as felt by Soredamors we read:

> Amors li a chaufé un baing
> Qui mout l'eschaufe et mout la cuist.
> Or li est buen et or li nuist,
> Or le viaut et or le refuse (ll. 470-473).

While of Archimbaut we are told:

> . . . . pois quez ac Flamenca vista
> Quel cor el cors l'a enflamat
> D'un foc amoros, arosat
> D'una douzor aitan suau,
> Que tot lo fuec el cors l'enclau,
> Que nuilz semblanz non par defors
> De la calor que sufr'el cors,
> Qu'el art dedinz e defors trembla (ll. 158-165).

This is the emotion of love; but Love, lady and queen, is given more prominence in the pursuit of the courtly intrigue. We remember how in *Yvain* Laudine, whose husband the captive knight has slain, becomes herself Love's captive, in her own despite; and how Love avenges on Yvain the death of Laudine's first lord. So the knight:

> . . . . Estre m'estuet an son dangier
> Toz jorz mes des qu'Amors le viaut.
> Qui Amor an gre ne requiaut
> Des que ele antor lui se tret,
> Felenie et traïson fet. . . . .
> Ce qu'Amors viaut doi je amer (ll. 1442-53).

But Amors takes up her abode with Guillem, and stands by him as in a vision he beholds his Flamenca; and questions and answers and reproaches him, on occasion (ll. 3992-4108).:

> Zo dis Guillems: 'Las! con no mor?
> Amors! bien pauc enansat m'as:
> vi. cujei far et ai fat as!. . .
> Lasset! caitiu! que dem farai
> Ni qual consseil ara penrai?
> Non sai qual donc, Amors, quem val?
> Qu' il non s'entremet d'autrui mal.
> —Tort has.—Per que?—Si fai.—Cossi?
> Deu! fez ti parlar hui ab si.
> —Vers et ab ma dona parliei,
> Mas qual pro i hai, ni qu'enanciei?
> —Tu si fesist—digas mi quan—
> Tu enansiest sivals aitan?
> Que'enanz que li domna baises
> Lo sauteri nis re[s]condes
> Poguist vezer desliuramen
> Sa bella boqueta risen.
> —Tot so es vers . . . . .

What is already rationalized by Chrétien is in *Flamenca* mathematically worked out. Even if the inspiration of these passages comes at all from the poet of Champagne, which is always open to question, their workmanship is essentially Provençal,

they are native with the sirventes, the tençon, the sharply antithetical writing of the later twelfth-century renaïssance of southern France.

One other point of similarity we may notice, before we sum up the importance of Arthurian romance to the author of *Flamenca*. This is the fact that here, as in *Yvain* and *Cligès*, the heroine has a confidante, or rather two. Lunete and the Thessalian nurse, in these two works of Chrétien, though of great importance—especially Lunete—in the development of the character of the heroine and of her story, have not the same importance as Alis and Margarida in *Flamenca*. Truth to tell, Flamenca herself is not so definite a character as either Laudine or Fenice. Her mind, such as it is, is expressed to Archimbaut (e.g. at the baths, ll. 1533-53) by the saucy damsels; and every reply (or question) to Guillem, at the giving of the 'pax'—all but the last—is prompted by Alis and Margarida. They are used with truly Provençal neatness and point, to show the conflicting elements of Flamenca's mind, if she had one. And they occupy also the position of the approving chorus; for here as in the greater love romances the sympathies of the author and his hearers, and of the minor actors in the drama, are with the lovers.

But when we have considered these parallels, these verbal echoes, these enumerations of Arthurian romance, they do not, after all, amount to much. We have a dazzling picture of contemporary manners—dazzling because so clear, but with no relief, with none of the softer, inexplicable motions of the human mind (except, indeed, in the secret places of Archimbaut's jealousy)—and we see the place that Arthurian romance occupied in this society. But even so this is at second hand, and we have it with the rest of Northern French literature. Enumerations of works consulted, or works simply known by hearsay, are impressive without being really reliable. For the rest, the Arthurian romances, if consciously present to the mind of Bernardet as he composed *Flamenca*, have become Provençal in idiom; they have lost the glamour of the north, and the light that beats upon them is the light of common day.

FRANCES M. WILLIAMS.

Fragment d'un roman en vers du XIII^e^ siecle.

Le hasard a mis entre mes mains deux feuillets de parchemin contenant une centaine de vers octosyllabes qui semblent dater de la fin du XIIIe siècle. En voici le résumé. Un personnage qui n'est pas nommé dans le texte, raconte au chevalier Melior l'aventure de la reine (également anonyme) : celle-ci fut trouvée, la nuit, dans sa chambre, serrant dans sa main un poignard ensanglanté. Réveillée par le tumulte, elle se vit entourée par les gens du pays qui l'accusaient à grands cris d'avour tué le roi, et seule l'intervention d'un vassal la sauva de la foule acharnée. On va la faire ' juger ' dans quarante jours, à moins qu'un chevalier ne se présente pour la défendre. Celui qui relate ces événements engage vivement Melior à relever le défi. Melior se met en route le lendemain :

Puis est monteis par grant effors
Sor son cheval isnellement.
Atant s'en vait tout dreitement
Lai ou li traitor estoient
Qui la roine ardre voloient.

Il leur lance cette apostrophe :

' Laissiés la toute coie ester !
Veiz me ci, qui la deffendrai,
Et de cest blasme l'osterai
Qu'a tort li a esteit sus mis ! '
Li traitres avant sallit . . . .

Ici s'arrête le fragment. J'espère pouvoir en donner prochainement une édition et en indiquer la provenance.

EUGENE VINAVER

The International Arthurian Congress.

The first Arthurian Congress was held from August 23rd-30th, 1930, under the Presidency of Mr. Henry Jenner. The two organizing secretaries were Dr. Hambley Rowe and Mr. Vinaver. There were about thirty members, who hailed from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, Ulster, and the U.S.A. Two members of the Arthurian Society, besides the President, and one ex-member attended. The first two days of the Congress were held at Glastonbury, the remainder at Truro, where sessions took place in the Museum of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. Papers were read by Mr. Jenner, Mrs. Loomis, Professor Wilmotte, Professor Loomis, Mr. Lewis, M. Frappier, Miss Fox, Dr. Hambley Rowe, Professor Mary Williams, Professor van Hamel, Professor Peebles, Professor Gruffydd, Mr. Vinaver, and Colonel Berry, and local knowledge was supplied by Miss Buckton, Miss Spooner, and others. Amongst other places, visits were paid to Glastonbury Abbey, S. Cadbury Down (Camelot), Albalanda, Malpas Ferry, Lantyan, Tintagel, Rosmodress, and St. Michael's Mount. The Congress attended the Gorsedd of the Bards of Cornwall, where it was honoured by six of its members being made Honorary Bards. The papers, as may be surmized from the above list of names, dealt with every aspect of Arthurian Legend and Romance, and valuable discussions took place on each. The excursions were not the least interesting part of the programme. On the social side, the Congress was royally entertained by the Mayor and Corporation of Truro, Lord Falmouth, and Lord St. Leven. The next Congress is to be held two years hence in Britanny, and one cannot do better than wish it the same measure of success that was accorded to its predecessor.

M. Dominica Legge.

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Abbreviations:

M.L.R. = Modern Language Review.
M.L.N. = Modern Language Notes.
P.M.L.A. = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
St. Med. = Studi Medievali.
Ltbl. = Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie.

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